

Māori Political Agency: A Q-method Study of Māori Political Attitudes in New Zealand

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Toni Michelle Sheed

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Abstract

While self-determination is often considered to mean political and sometimes territorial independence, for indigenous peoples that have been colonised self-determination often manifests in a different way. For Māori, the concept of tino rangatiratanga encapsulates many of the issues associated with the desire for political equality and self-determination. It includes the right for Māori to decide how they want to be governed, including having the ability to make decisions about their own futures, and it is contingent upon having a sense of political agency.

To date there is little research that explores Māori political agency. The aim of this thesis is to address this research gap by examining what Māori aspire to as political agents, what some of the barriers to those aspirations might be, and whether Māori believe that they can make a difference in the political realm if they choose to do so. The thesis draws together several strands of literature, from empirical to theoretical, and examines Māori political agency in the context of self-determination. Primary data is also gathered and analysed using Q-methodology to better understand these questions. A further goal of this thesis is to analyse the effectiveness of traditional efficacy measures for studying political agency in indigenous groups.

The results support the self-determination literature that argues that Māori want to have the ability to make decisions about their own futures. It also finds, as is to be expected of a diverse peoples, that there is no single view or aspiration in regard to political agency, and that attitudes to politics are as diverse as the participants themselves. Accessibility to political networks was identified as being important, but such networks were also identified as a potential barrier to agency. Thus, the findings suggest that there must be a degree of individual effort in order to achieve a sense of agency. The research also found several limitations with traditional efficacy measures for studying agency within indigenous groups. This is primarily due to the focus of such methods on institutional forms of political participation such as voting, which is assumed to have similar outcomes for everyone – for minorities this is not the case. Moreover, the data reveals that it is difficult to draw a linear relationship between efficacy, and participation, and that there may be other reasons individuals choose to participate in politics or not.

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Figure 1	Forced choice frequency distribution
Table 1	Factor defining Q-sorts for four study factors
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List of Terms

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Hapū	Sub tribe
Hui	Meeting
Iwi	Tribe
Kaumātua	Elder or senior tribal member
Kaupapa	Way of knowing
Marae	Traditional meeting house
Pākehā	Commonly used to describe Non-Māori of European descent
Rangatiratanga	Self determination/autonomy
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Whānau	Family or extended family

Chapter One: Introduction

“Indigenous peoples are neither a problem to solve nor a competitor to be jousted, but a partner with whom to work through differences in a spirit of cooperative coexistence” (Maaka & Fleras 2000, p 97).

For indigenous peoples the drive for political equality goes deeper than the issues of rights, equal treatment, or the ability to influence political processes and decisions. Rather, for such groups, political equality encompasses a desire for self-determination (Durie 1998; Maaka & Fleras 2000; Walker 2004). While self-determination is often considered to mean political, and sometimes territorial independence, for indigenous peoples that have been colonised self-determination often manifests in a different way. For Māori, the concept of tino rangatiratanga encapsulates many of the issues associated with the desire for political equality and self-determination. It includes the right for Māori to decide how they want to be governed, including having the ability to make decisions about their own futures. The important point for this thesis is that it is contingent upon having a sense of political agency. While the moral right to self-determination exists for Māori, political circumstances within New Zealand often make it difficult to exercise that right (Maaka & Fleras 2000). It is the political agency of Māori that has enabled them to achieve their political goals.

To date there is little research that explores Māori political agency despite the evidence of political achievements such as Treaty of Waitangi settlements¹. The aim of this thesis is to explore Māori political agency by examining what Māori aspire to as political agents, what some of the barriers to those aspirations might be, and whether Māori believe that they can make a difference in the political realm if they choose to do so. The research draws together several strands of literature, from empirical to theoretical, as well as gathering primary data to better understand these questions. The rest of this chapter explains the background to this thesis, sets out the political context for Māori, and outlines current research on Māori political attitudes. The methods and concepts used throughout the thesis are also explained.

The Political Context for the Assertion of Agency by Māori, Iwi, or Hapū

There are contrasting views on the current political situation for Māori. On one side of the debate, scholars argue that the relationship between Māori and the New Zealand Government represents a good example of government/indigenous relations by international standards. In

¹ The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975. The purpose of the tribunal is to examine claims of historical grievances presented by Māori, and to make recommendations, including settlements, to the Crown on such claims

contrast, others argue that because Māori do not have an equal political voice, this hinders them from having control over their own futures, and stymies any chance of prosperity. This section briefly outlines those views.

Some argue that the relationship between Māori and the New Zealand Government has developed to the point where it now represents a positive example of indigenous political participation by international standards (Xanthaki & O'Sullivan 2009). This argument is that over the last thirty years New Zealand has moved away from an assimilation model, where Māori were expected to adapt to Western political conventions, to a bi-cultural model that allows a closer partnership between Māori and the Government. During this period several significant political milestones for Māori were achieved, which include the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal and the Treaty Principles² (Ministry of Justice 2014). The Waitangi Tribunal has been instrumental in allowing tribes to reach settlements with the Government in relation to historical grievances over land and other resources, and the establishment of the Treaty Principles has clarified the obligations of the Government, government departments, and local authorities, in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi³ (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014). In Parliament, the introduction of a mixed member proportional model (MMP), and retention of guaranteed Māori seats⁴, has allowed Māori to increase the level of effective representation so that they are now proportionally represented in the New Zealand Parliament (Xanthaki & O'Sullivan 2009).

Many argue however, that despite these significant political milestones, self-determination has yet to be fully realised due to a significant power imbalance that still exists (Durie 1998; Maaka & Fleras 2000; O'Sullivan 2007; Walker 2004). In response to Māori concerns about social inequality the Stavenhagen report prepared for the United Nations Economic and Social Council highlights that Māori have a lower standard of health, mortality, education, and income, than non-Māori (Stavenhagen 2006). The report argues that more needs to be done to create a political environment where Māori are able to have better control over their futures (Ibid). This is also a common theme of the self-determination literature, where scholars argue that the way to prosperity for Māori is to ensure that they have more control over the decisions that affect their

² The New Zealand Government established the Treaty Principles in order to provide guidelines to government and local body entities about their responsibilities as treaty partners (Ministry of Justice 2014).

³ The Treaty of Waitangi was made in 1840 between the British Crown and approximately 540 Māori chiefs. It contains three articles that outline the principles upon which the nation was to be founded. The Treaty was written in both the Māori and English language, and debate still exists today about the exact meaning of parts of the Treaty, in particular the word 'sovereignty' was translated as 'kawanatanga', which differs to the term 'tino rangatiratanga'. In the Māori version, Māori were guaranteed 'tino rangatiratanga' over their 'taonga', or treasures. In addition, Māori were guaranteed undisturbed possession over their properties – a promise which was broken by the Government on many occasions through the confiscation of large parcels of land (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014).

⁴ The Māori seats were first established in Parliament in 1867 with the introduction of the Māori Representation act. Four seats were reserved for Māori, three in the North Island and one in the South Island. The system of Māori representation in its current form allows Māori to choose whether to enroll on the general electoral roll or the Māori roll every five years. As the number registered on the Māori roll rises, so too do the number of Māori seats in Parliament. There are currently seven Māori seats in Parliament (Wilson 2003).

lives (See for example: Durie 1998; Walker 2004). While it is true that Māori have reached many political milestones, these achievements have not come without conflict and compromise, and Māori have had to continually adapt, and assert themselves against the majority, in order to protect and advance their rights to political equality.

All authors note that Māori face a unique set of political circumstances. To contribute to society politically, they have no choice but to engage with a political system that has often not served them well. For Māori, as with other indigenous groups, the problem is twofold: first, as a minority, Māori face the issue of living within a representative democratic system where the state bases its decisions on the voice of the majority – the minority voice becomes stymied in such an environment (Xanthaki & O'Sullivan 2009). As O'Sullivan (2007) argues, political equality is not contingent on merely having the right to vote, because democracy does not guarantee equality, especially for minority groups. Additionally, for Māori, the political system that they are embedded in is the source of many historical grievances, is distinctly Eurocentric in design, and has usurped traditional political systems and power structures. Thus, the relationship between Māori and the Government is one that has been characterised by tension, conflict, and compromise. This thesis considers these issues in the context of agency theory, and examines whether the predominant ways of understanding and measuring agency are sufficient for understanding the agency in indigenous groups, which are faced with these unique political circumstances.

Existing Research on Māori Political Attitudes

To date, there has been very little research on Māori political agency that extends beyond measuring electoral participation and engagement. Electoral participation is thought to be a key indicator of political engagement according to a large body of political science literature (this will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two). Much of the existing research has been undertaken or funded by the New Zealand Electoral Commission, or the University of Auckland New Zealand Election Study (NZES). The studies undertaken by these two entities use a combination of voting statistics and quantitative surveys to gather data about people's actions and feelings toward political participation and engagement. The Commission has also funded the Māori Electoral Participation Research Project in order to gain a deeper understanding of the reasons for the low electoral participation rates among Māori. This section discusses the Electoral Commission and NZES data, and the findings of the projects supported by the Māori Electoral Participation Research Project.

Although there have been some increases in the number of Māori voting since the introduction of MMP and changes to the Māori electoral option, virtually every study that has

measured electoral participation has found that electoral participation rates are lower for Māori than for non-Māori (Sullivan 2010; Xanthaki & O'Sullivan 2009). According to the Electoral Commission, overall voter turnout at the 2005 general election was lower than in all other general elections since 1978, with the exception of 2002 (The Electoral Commission 2005). Of greater significance though, is that the overall levels of decline are accompanied by a trend amongst Māori, Pacific Island, and young people, which indicate a lower level than the general population of: interest in politics, understanding of the political system, and political engagement. These quantitative studies give an overall view of who is participating or not, along with some possible reasons why. They also identify where further research should be directed. However, the data does not explore deeper questions about what is influencing the choices of citizen's to participate or not.

The Electoral Commission recognises that finding out about low levels of political engagement is important, and in order to find ways to increase electoral participation rates, especially among Māori and other minority groups, the Commission set up the Māori Electoral Participation Research Project (Poa & Tipene 2006). The project's aim was to gain a deeper understanding of the issue of non-participation, and find out ways to address it. Four research projects were supported by the Commission in the hope that they would contribute to informing policies to improve Māori electoral participation rates. These studies were conducted by UMR research, Research New Zealand, the School of Māori Studies at Massey University, and He Puna Marama Trust. The studies conducted their research using a variety of methods, which included: broad electoral participation surveys, reviews of existing literature and survey data, and face-to-face interviews that specifically target Māori.

The studies focused on young Māori and found that while a large proportion of young Māori are disengaged, disillusioned, or simply disinterested in politics, low participation rates are more likely to be a result of demographic and socioeconomic factors rather than culturally determined factors. The unique age demographic of Māori is significant. Sullivan (2010) highlights that in 2008 twenty-five percent of the Māori population was aged between eighteen and twenty-nine; this is in contrast to the general population where the number of eighteen to twenty-nine year olds was fifteen percent. Many studies (See for example: Bessant 2004; Campbell 2010; Flanagan 2003; Flanagan & Levine 2010; Niemi & Klingler 2012) have shown that young people between the ages of eighteen to twenty-nine have lower levels of political participation than other groups, and Sullivan (2010) argues that this is presumably also the case for young Māori. Electoral Commission voting data also supports this conclusion (Colmar Brunton 2011).

Socioeconomic status is also identified an important factor that affects the likelihood of political participation. Many researchers suggest that a demographic profile of non-voters that

usually correlates with the relative economic deprivation experienced by particular groups (See for example: Aimer & Vowles 1993; Fitzgerald et al. 2007; Hayward 2006; Poa & Tipene 2006; Sullivan 2010; Sullivan & Riedel 2001; Xanthaki & O'Sullivan 2009). Such groups include: working classes and beneficiaries, citizens with a lower level of integration into the community such as youth, those who live in rented accommodation, those who have never married, and those who are a member of a minority culture (Aimer & Vowles 1993).

Indigenous peoples are often represented in one or more of these demographic areas. According to Durie (1998), Māori lag behind non-Māori in almost all socioeconomic indices, with lower levels of health, income, employment, and education. While the studies supported by the Electoral Commission found that cultural influence is not a significant factor in whether or not young Māori are likely to engage in political processes, academics writing from an indigenous perspective argue that the socioeconomic position and lifestyles of contemporary Māori can be attributed to many historical factors including: government policies of assimilation and deculturation, mass urbanisation of Māori, social dislocation, Crown⁵ breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, and an unclear constitutional position (Durie 1998; Walker 2004). Therefore, while culture itself does not directly correlate with a lack of political participation and engagement, the socioeconomic position of indigenous groups does influence the degree of participation according to this argument.

This still does not fully explain though, why socioeconomic deprivation leads to a lack of participation in the political and civic realm. One explanation is that the combination of being young and poor decreases the amount of political opportunity, which presents a significant barrier to participation (Hayward 2006). Lack of political opportunity is affected by many micro-level factors including access to resources, context, and conditions (Ibid). One example of this is highlighted in the Poa and Tipene study. They found, in their face to face survey, that the transient nature of young Māori directly affects their likelihood of participating in electoral processes (Poa & Tipene 2006). The study revealed that in many cases, young Māori do not register on the electoral roll because they move from place to place – or, if they are on an electoral roll, they may change electorates and fail to update their details (Ibid). The outcome of this is twofold – not only are they unable to vote if they are not registered on an electoral roll, but in addition, they do not have access to information relating to elections and voting, including who the electoral candidates are. This makes the process of voting more difficult as they have to potentially register and vote either close to or on election day, or they have to vote in a different electorate to where they are registered to vote. A study on youth electoral participation in Australia, revealed similar findings

⁵ The Treaty of Waitangi was an agreement between the Tribes of New Zealand, and the British Crown. The Crown was, and still is, represented through the New Zealand Government. Therefore, the term 'Crown' is often used interchangeably with the New Zealand Government in describing Māori political relations.

in relation to transiency, but also found that those who rented rather than owning their home were more likely to drop off the electoral roll as they changed address more often (Edwards 2007). As transiency and lack of home ownership is more common in the under twenty-five age bracket, these factors lead to lower electoral participation rates within this particular group. These findings support the arguments that age and socioeconomic conditions have a significant effect on political participation.

While culturally determined factors appear to be less significant than demographic and socioeconomic factors in these studies, culture cannot be discounted altogether as a variable that affects political participation. Some of the research argues that cultural factors have at least some effect (See for example: Fitzgerald et al. 2007; Poa & Tipene 2006), although the specific impact on participation is somewhat unclear. Two of the studies found that culture and identity complicate the decision-making process for young Māori when they are considering whether to participate, but concede that the specific impact of culture on the desire to vote was difficult to establish (Fitzgerald et al. 2007; Poa & Tipene 2006). The dual roll system for Māori was one factor that was highlighted as having a possible negative affect for young Māori (Alliston & Cossar 2006; Poa & Tipene 2006). Rather than creating opportunities and positive experiences, the increased options for young Māori can increase the level of confusion and anxiety for them when choosing whether to participate in electoral processes according to the research findings of Poa and Tipene (2006). They argue that this is because they first have to choose which roll they want to be on, and then find out who may be representing them in the Māori seats, which creates another layer of decision making on top of an already complicated process (Poa & Tipene 2006). This is particularly the case for first time voters who have no previous exposure to the workings of electoral processes. Alliston and Cossar (2006) argue that this uncertainty and confusion can cause Māori to be concerned about 'whakamaa' (losing face). According to Alliston and Cossar (2006), this confusion results in young Māori appearing politically unsophisticated, rather than simply being disengaged, which is a result of the complexity of both MMP and the dual roll system, and is exacerbated by a lack of exposure to relevant information to demystify the process. Interestingly, this finding is inconsistent with minority empowerment theories (which will be discussed in the next chapter) that support the notion that the Māori electoral option is positive for Māori. As Xanthaki and O'Sullivan (2009) highlight, the guarantee of Māori seats in parliament, in combination with MMP and new political parties representing Māori interests has improved representation, and minority empowerment theories suggest that this should increase participation – however, as highlighted above, the empirical research shows that this is often not the case.

The impact of the level of involvement in te ao Māori (the Māori world) was found to have some significance however, in both the choice of electoral roll, and the attitudes towards politicians and the systems and processes of government (Fitzgerald et al. 2007). While the Electoral Commission's post election surveys found that the level of trust in politicians for Māori was higher than non-Māori (Colmar Brunton 2011), those individuals in the Fitzgerald et al. study who had a high cultural indicator⁶ (CI) rating were more likely to consider that MPs were out of touch (Fitzgerald et al. 2007). The research also found that there were differences in individuals' levels of trust of political processes (in this case voting), MPs, governments, and parliament; that is, there were higher levels of trust in the process of voting than there were in the institutions and representatives within those institutions (Ibid). Additionally, those who were involved in te ao Māori were less likely to trust the systems and processes of government than those who were not, and these participants were also less likely to vote because of this. Distrust of central and local government was also identified in Alliston and Cossar's report as an inhibitor to voting. They concluded from the existing literature on participation that many Māori prefer to operate within a Māori framework and feel alienated from pakeha⁷ systems and processes (Alliston & Cossar 2006). The findings related to trust of the political system and its representative are significant for this thesis, because trust and efficacy are thought to be strong indicators of levels of political agency.

Why Study Māori Political Agency?

To be an agent implies that an individual has the ability to exert some degree of control over their social world (Sewell 1992). Thus, having a sense of political agency is about having the ability to make a difference in the political realm. It is more than just an ability to take part or have a say, it is about individuals and groups being able to influence and affect political processes should they choose to do so. As argued above, for Māori the desire for self-determination is contingent upon having a sense of political agency – thus, agency becomes a critical concept for understanding if Māori feel able to achieve their political goals. This section briefly outlines why traditional approaches to the study of agency may hinder understanding agency in indigenous groups (chapter two provides an in depth analysis of these concepts).

Within the study of political agency, efficacy is a crucial concept as it is a key factor in the participation of individuals and groups. Efficacy studies argue that a higher degree of efficacy will

⁶ This study distinguished between those who identified strongly as Māori and those who did not by using a cultural identity (CI) index to indicate the level of involvement with te Ao Māori (the Māori world). The index incorporated seven key aspects into this CI index including: Māori language ability, involvement with family group, self-identification, knowledge of ancestry, participation in marae activities, level of contact with other Māori, and Māori land interests (Fitzgerald, E, Stevenson, B & Tapiata, J 2007). The study then looked for difference in behaviours between those with a high CI and those with a low CI.

⁷ The term 'pakeha' is commonly used to refer to non-Māori.

generally lead to a higher level of political participation. Within such studies, however, there is a narrow focus on institutional forms of participation. This thesis will argue that while there is a strong theoretical link between agency and participation in voting that can be studied via research using efficacy, the political reality and experience in individuals is far more complex. That is, by focusing only on voting, this does not capture much other political behaviour. Therefore, the narrow focus on institutionalised forms of political action limits the ability of efficacy studies to explain the sources of political agency more broadly.

In addition, it is particularly difficult to try and understand the political attitudes of indigenous groups using methods established to understand agency within liberal democratic systems. This is because efficacy studies presuppose a particular conception of agency – one where such citizens have a degree of trust and confidence in those who are elected to represent their views sufficiently, and feel empowered by their ability to contribute by voting in elections. In this view of agency, the end goal is voting, and outcomes are similar for everyone (Sheerin 2007). When the agency, efficacy, and political participation literature are considered in the context of self-determination, it highlights the fundamental problem of trying to measure indigenous political agency in the context of voting and elections. The way that indigenous peoples experience their socio-political surroundings can be very different from the experiences of non-indigenous citizens. Those living in settler societies may struggle for effective representation, and may also have less trust and faith in the political systems than the rest of the population. According to agency theories, socio-political experiences can have a profound effect on how individuals act within their political environment, and trust and faith in the political system is one of the important influencing factors in whether individuals are likely to participate in political processes (Balch 1974). That is, many of the reasons that Māori are less likely to vote fall outside the parameters of efficacy research.

One of the problems with empirical efficacy studies then, is that they may simply be reinforcing what is already known. Much of the empirical research, for example, confirms that minority groups, including young people, ethnic minorities, and indigenous groups, tend to participate less in political processes than the rest of the population. As discussed in the previous section, statistics published by the Electoral Commission (2005) in New Zealand confirm that these groups have low levels of political engagement. Very few empirical studies look beyond traditional theoretical assumptions about the link between political participation and political agency, and examine how citizens feel about their ability to influence political and civic processes more broadly.

Most of the efficacy literature presents a poor model for examining communities whose identity is characterised by collective action and reasoning rather than individualistic one-citizen

one-vote systems. Many existing studies also do not take into account the context in which the methodologies are framed, or the complex decisions that Māori sometimes face when considering participating in the political realm. For individual Māori the political realm is often difficult to negotiate, there are more issues to consider, and more options available concerning voting in elections. Conflicting identities, loyalties and sense of duty all potentially influence the decision-making processes of these individuals. These issues raise many questions about what Māori political agency might look like and how it might be measured.

The primary aim of this thesis is to consider new ways of understanding indigenous agency by examining:

- What Māori aspire to as political agents.
- What some of the barriers to those aspirations might be.
- If Māori believe they have the capacity to participate if they choose to do so.

In addition to these core questions, this research will examine whether existing methods of measuring agency are adequate for understanding agency in indigenous groups.

The Research Approach

As outlined above, the aim of this thesis is to consider new ways of understanding Māori political agency, and to highlight some of the underlying conceptual problems with using standard efficacy measures to understand indigenous agency. Thus, it is important to explore the current methods used by empirical researchers to study political agency, and to understand the theoretical arguments that underpin these methods before gathering and analysing primary data. A review of the agency and efficacy literature will examine how political theorists articulate the concept of agency, in order to uncover some of the theoretical assumptions that underpin the empirical research methods, and to highlight some of the conceptual problems in these approaches.

Primary data was collected through a Q-method study to gain a deeper understanding of what Māori aspire to as political agents. Q-methodology allows for the formation of theories through the identification of shared subjective viewpoints. This is done by capturing a range of views on the topic, expressing those views as statements, and asking participants to rank those statements according to how strongly they agree or disagree with them. The data is analysed using factor analysis techniques. The factors that are identified represent the key viewpoints of the participants of this study. Once these subjective viewpoints have been identified, they are then analysed to ascertain whether Māori agency fits within traditional theoretical realms, and if so in what way.

An important aspect of working with Māori is the need for a Kaupapa Māori approach (Smith 2012). This approach addresses several potential problems that can occur when conducting research with indigenous groups. Such problems arise from the dominance of Western ideological discourses that have informed academia and resulted in research being conducted ‘about’ indigenous groups, through an imperial gaze. A Kaupapa Māori approach considers how Māori will benefit from the research, involves participants in the research design, and does not make any prior assumptions about the outcomes. Q-methodology is a bottom-up, hypothesis-generating approach, which makes it ideal for this task. In addition, Q-methodology allows for participants to be involved in the early stages of the research through the use of focus groups to identify the key statements that will be used for the Q-study. Māori voices generated all of the views expressed in this research, and Māori prioritised and grouped those views. The benefit of this research for the Māori community comes from a critical analysis of existing research approaches that do not allow Māori to fully express their attitudes to the political realm.

Structure of the Thesis

The rest of this thesis will be divided into five further chapters. Chapter Two contains a review of the literature on political agency, and discusses the ways in which political theorists have articulated the concept of agency. In addition, the chapter outlines how political scientists have operationalized political agency in order to measure it. As argued above, empirical researchers have devoted much of their attention to the internally driven aspect of agency – political efficacy. There are, however, several limitations to these methods for understanding of agency, particularly in indigenous groups. These limitations will be explored in further detail. Finally, the key concepts contained within the agency and efficacy literature will be summarised in order to provide a framework for discussing the research findings of this thesis.

Chapter Three outlines the methodological approach of the thesis. This chapter will explain in more detail the reasons behind choosing Q-methodology for this project, and outline how this method aligns with a Kaupapa Māori approach to research. In addition, the technical and theoretical aspects of Q-methodology will be explained in detail, including the process for generating statements, collecting participant data, and factor analysis.

The data collected from the Q-method study is examined in Chapter Four. This will include discussions of the information gathered in the initial focus groups and the process used for generating and refining the statements. In addition, this chapter will discuss how the participants were chosen, the initial findings of the Q-sort data, and how the viewpoints were identified.

Chapter Five explains the four significant factors identified from the data. These factors represent the four dominant viewpoints contained within the overall viewpoints of the participants:

1. It is up to individuals to make a difference in politics.
2. It is not easy to get involved but I take the few opportunities there are.
3. I am not yet that knowledgeable about things political, but I get involved if it means it helps my whānau and community.
4. Collective action gives a greater sense of agency.

These four viewpoints are then discussed in relation to the key concepts identified from the agency and efficacy literature in Chapter Two.

Finally, Chapter Six summarises the findings, discusses the findings in relation to the research questions, and contemplates the implications of this research for future study in this field.

Chapter Two: Political Agency and Efficacy

Introduction

This thesis considers new ways of understanding indigenous political agency by capturing from a Māori perspective what Māori aspire to as political agents, and what some of the barriers to those aspirations might be. The thesis highlights some of the underlying conceptual problems with the predominant methods used to measure indigenous peoples' attitudes to politics by examining current political agency methodologies, and the theoretical arguments that underpin these methods. The purpose of this chapter is: to explain some of the ways political theorists articulate the concept of agency; to examine how empirical researchers pinpoint specific aspects of agency in order to measure it; to describe the limitations of such measures for understanding agency; and, to consider what this means for understanding Māori political agency.

This chapter will be structured in five sections. The first two sections of the chapter discuss what theorists say about agency, including some of the barriers to agency that they identify within their theories. The first of these initial sections explores political agency in the context of broader theories such as democracy, republicanism, and civic participation and engagement. It is often difficult to isolate agency theories, because in Western philosophical thought, agency is often not a direct object of study, but is rather, the point of political theory. Both Hobbes and Locke⁸, for example, considered the relationship between governments and their citizens and debated over the degree to which a government's power should be limited in order for individuals to retain their liberty. That is, they debated how to ensure the protection of individual agency and its limits – not agency itself. Contemporary political theories will also be examined in this chapter. Many contemporary theories consider the reciprocal causal effects of the political environment on the individual and their sense of agency, and the individual's actions upon that environment (See for example: Bandura 1982; Kaufman 1960; Pateman 1970). Pateman (1970) argues, for instance, that by participating in political and civic processes, individuals become more assertive, and thus acquire a sense of agency. An important characteristic of several of these theories is the power of the collective in creating agency. Collective agency theories consider how an enhanced sense of agency can arise from a shared belief in the ability to enact change on the social environment (Bandura 1997; Sullivan & Riedel 2001). According to some theories, the role of collective identity is important in forming a sense of collective agency (Arendt cited in d'Entreves 2008). Some theorists also argue that the existence of socio-structural barriers works

⁸ Both Hobbes and Locke were both influential figures in the formation of political philosophies that form the basis of contemporary political theories today. They recognized the significance of the relationship between the individual, and the state, and debated the effect of the state on individual autonomy (Hobbes 2013; Locke 2010).

against individual and collective agency (See for example: Arendt cited in d'Entrevies 2008; Barber 1984; Pateman 1970). Central to these arguments is the representative nature of many democratic systems, including the concentrated nature of decision-making processes (a feature of most modern democracies). According to such arguments, representative democracies can limit or diminish the sense of political agency. These arguments identify a lack of involvement by citizens in representative democracies, and subsequent loss of civic skills, as a key cause of a diminishing sense of agency within the citizenry of such societies (See for example: Bandura 1997; Barber 1984; Mansbridge 1983; Pateman 1970).

According to the theoretical literature then, agency describes the ability of individuals and groups to have the capacity to act purposefully as part of the political community in which they live, and to be able to have an impact on politics should they choose to do so.

While theorists consider political agency within the context of a broad range socio-political actions, empirical researchers break agency down into smaller more manageable aspects. The third section in this chapter outlines how political scientists have operationalized political agency in order to measure it, and why agency is often linked to participation and voting in elections. Participation studies have led scholars to look at beliefs in voting and realise that this is linked to agency or efficacy feelings. Since the 1950s⁹, empirical researchers have devoted much of their attention to this specific aspect of agency, and its effect on voting. Nowadays, efficacy measures are one of the primary tools used in research that aims to understand political attitudes and political agency, and the concept is central to theories of participation (Bandura 1997). Efficacy deals specifically with citizens' feelings (individual and collective) about their ability to participate in, and influence the political realm. Efficacy can be further broken down into two distinct aspects: internal, and external. Internal efficacy refers to how an individual feels about their own ability to participate in the political realm, and is influenced by factors such as education, knowledge, and self-confidence (Balch 1974). External efficacy deals with feelings about the responsiveness of the political system and its representatives; in other words, whether individuals believe they will be listened to, and whether their wishes as citizens will be acted upon (Ibid). This aspect of efficacy is influenced primarily by the level of trust an individual has in the political system, and the representatives within that system (Ibid).

The method of operationalizing agency by measuring individual feelings of efficacy is one of the primary tools used in political participation research. It can be useful for explaining the link between agency and political participation – especially in relation to voting. However, due to the

⁹ The empirical work of Campbell, Gurin and Miller in the 1954 National Election Survey (NES) study provides the basis for the majority of empirical studies of political efficacy and political attitudes that have been conducted over the last fifty years.

narrow focus on institutionalised forms of political action (usually elections and voting), it has several limitations for understanding political agency more broadly. These limitations will be outlined in the fourth section of this chapter.

The final section of this chapter discusses some of the underlying normative assumptions inherent in the agency literature and how this is problematic for understanding indigenous agency. In Western philosophical thought, agency is articulated as a relationship between individuals and their socio-political surroundings – namely, their role within representative democracies. Therefore, most of the efficacy literature presents a poor model for examining communities whose individual identity may be characterised by a desire for collective action and reasoning rather than individualistic one-citizen one-vote systems.

Contemporary Agency Theories

Empirical political participation and efficacy studies draw upon theoretical principles that examine individuals and collectives as agents, and the ability of those agents to act upon the political structures that they are a part of. It is therefore important to consider some of the key theoretical arguments that underpin agency and efficacy studies. The following two sections discuss contemporary agency theories that have emerged since the 1950s, including some of the earlier influences on these theories.

Political agency theories share some conceptual similarities with views of agency within other social science disciplines such as psychology and sociology. Generally agency has been articulated alongside structure within these disciplines (Scott & Marshall 2012). That is, this view of agency is primarily concerned with the relationship between social actors, and the social structures that surround them. Bandura (1997) for example, argues that human agency does not occur in a vacuum; it cannot be attributed solely to either efficacious beliefs, or environmental influences. Rather, according to this psychological view, agency operates within a broad framework of socio-structural causal influences, which derive from personal factors, the environment, and behaviour (Ibid). Bandura's psychologically inspired claim is made in an attempt to understand the way that humans are adapting to the pace of change in contemporary society, and how social structures are having an ever increasing affect on the ability of individual citizens to retain a sense of agency. More recently, agency theories have emphasised the idea of individual autonomy in this relationship (Scott & Marshall 2012). Sewell (1992) for example, explains that to be an agent implies that an individual is able to exert some degree of control over the social relations of which they are an inextricable part. This emphasis on individual autonomy across the social sciences is also apparent within theories of political science agency.

Individual agency is not often a direct object of study in political theory, but is instead, especially in the hands of political philosophers Hobbes and Locke, the point of political theory. Hobbes (2013) was concerned with the conditions that would enable agency of movement. He argued that a commonwealth of individuals could secure the liberty of its citizens, and allow them to go about their lives according to their own free will. For Hobbes (Ibid), the maintenance of such conditions required the oversight of an absolute sovereign, a point that Locke would later dispute famously:

As if when men, quitting the state of Nature, entered into society, they agreed that all of them but one should be under the restraint of laws; but that he should still retain all the liberty of the state of Nature, increased with power, and made licentious by impunity. This is to think that men are so foolish that they take care to avoid what mischiefs may be done them by polecats or foxes, but are content, nay, think it safety, to be devoured by lions. (Locke 2010, p. 64)

Locke sought a government that was entrusted with the protection of the liberty of its citizens. He argued, however, that if this trust was not upheld and the government endeavoured to impose absolute power over its citizens, then that government should forfeit their power in order for the citizens to retain the protection of their liberty (Locke 2010). Both Hobbes and Locke primarily focused on the relationship between the government, and its citizens. The key difference in their theories is whether or not government should be limited in its power over individuals, and their liberty.

For many theorists, an important aspect of individual liberty is the act of participating in political and civic processes. Therefore the effect that participation has on both the individual, and society, is central to many theories that deal with agency, and participation is identified as a key indicator of levels of agency in both theoretical and empirical studies of agency. Like Locke, Mill sought a government that allowed liberty and freedom of expression of individuals to enable them to partake in political affairs and debates should they choose to do so (Mill 1859). Liberty, Mill argued, improves each individual and promotes virtue, intellectual stimulation, and activity – all attributes that are good for the human character (Ibid). Mill's theory was influenced by the work of de Tocqueville, who observed the emergence of democracy in practice as he travelled through America witnessing town meetings and voluntary associations (Mansbridge 1995). De Tocqueville observed a change in character of those individuals who were involved in such processes (Tocqueville 1994). Following Mill and de Tocqueville, many contemporary theorists focus on the role of individuals within democratic political systems, and the ability of individuals to act purposefully within those systems (See for example: Barber 1984; Kaufman 1960;

Mansbridge 1983; Pateman 1970; Putnam 2000). The idea of agency then, is often incorporated within the broader concepts of democracy, participation, and civic engagement.

In addition to the benefits that individuals gain from the act of political participation, many theorists also identify benefits to the political system itself. Some contemporary theorists link the positive effects of participation with the creation of a common concern with the public good (d'Entreves 2008; Kaufman 1960; Pateman 1970). Kaufman (1960), for example, developed the term 'participatory democracy' to capture the idea that both the individual, and the democratic system, could function better with more participation. Kaufman drew upon Mill's idea that while participation improves the character of individuals, society as a whole could also benefit from participation, due to individuals developing a concern for their community, which in turn creates an improvement in social cohesiveness. Mansbridge (1995) argues, that while Mill's emphasis was on individual development, he ultimately believed that a cohesive society would lead to a more stable government. Mill perceived society from a utilitarian perspective, with individuals representing the parts, and society representing the sum of those parts. Both Mill and de Tocqueville were interested in how individual participation created concern for the common good, and improved social cohesion. De Tocqueville claimed that this was due to individuals developing a sense of ownership and responsibility toward their community when they became involved in local governance processes – something he observed during his travels in the young democracy of America (Tocqueville 1994). Such observations were also made in the empirical studies of Mansbridge and Putnam, who both observed democratic processes in action and paid attention to the relationships between individuals, and the political systems they are a part of. Mill also identified a reciprocal effect where individuals who contribute to wider society develop a greater capacity for the growth of human powers of thought, feelings and action.

The act of political participation and resulting enhancement of the skills and the psyche of the citizenry, is also likely to increase further participation through the act of social training according to some agency theories (See: Arendt cited in d'Entreves 2008; Pateman 1970). Taking part in political processes is said to increase citizens' civic skills as they learn the act of participation. According to such theories, by taking part in such activities they also gain self-confidence, leaving them psychologically better off, which increases the likelihood of further participation (Ibid). The connection between action and agency is central to the participatory conception of citizenship, in which the citizens experience public freedom and public happiness through active engagement in public affairs (Arendt cited in d'Entreves 2008). The result is that the individual experiences an increased sense of agency through the self-assertion they gain from the act of participation. An important aspect of Pateman's argument is that both education and participation are required in order to effectively increase the level of social training. For this to be

possible, Pateman (1970) argues that democratic processes must take place throughout society, and not just by way of representative elections. The social training argument emphasises the importance of widespread education and participation in a range of political processes to enable the development of the attitudes and qualities necessary for individuals to contribute to a stable and well functioning democracy.

While efficacy is an individual level concept, in practice it represents a propensity to “...draw upon collective social resources to effect social change” (Sullivan & Riedel 2001, p.4353). Collective agency is important for political agency theories, as it is often difficult for individuals to make a difference politically if they are acting alone. In order to have an effect on the political realm, that is, to make agency yield real results, the agency of many individuals must be combined and converted into something more effective. In addition, individual self-interests (as diverse as they may be) must be able to be converted into a single purpose to accomplish such political goals (Bandura 1997). Individuals do not necessarily have direct control over the social functions that affect their lives; hence, they access a different kind of agency to achieve the outcomes they desire. Social cognitive theory identifies collective agency as one of the key aspects of agency (Bandura 2000). Collective agency allows individuals to work together to achieve what they cannot achieve on their own. It is not, however, merely the sum of individual agency – it is something more dynamic. Collective agency is an emergent group level attribute stemming from coordinated and interactive dynamics in which there is a shared belief in the ability to produce effects (Bandura 1997). Thus, collective action is driven by participants’ beliefs in their own ability to achieve social change through political action. This idea is particularly pertinent for indigenous groups who, as minorities, often have to pool their resources in order to gain a greater voice and achieve their political goals. In the case of Māori, there are numerous examples of where collective agency has emerged through pan-tribal political action, and in some instances has produced significant political outcomes¹⁰.

A strong sense of collective agency requires a common purpose, and a belief in the ability to enact change. In order for this to come about however, collective agency requires something more. A common purpose is fostered more readily when there is a greater sense of collective identity (Arendt cited in: d’Entreves 1994). A strong collective identity helps to cement the goals of the collective, and enhances their sense of purpose. This is achieved through the action of participating in the political and civic realm, which draws on the reservoir of individual and collective agency (Ibid). The constant processes of negotiation and renegotiation where the citizenry collaborates to identify agreed courses of action, forges a sense of collective identity.

¹⁰ There are many notable examples where Māori individual agency has been increased via the use of collective action, for example: the many land settlements, the instigation of the Waitangi tribunal and associated legal mechanisms, and the formation of Māori political movements.

The joint lived experience of the members of the group, and the achievement of political goals through such processes, play an important part in defining the identity of the citizenry, and in creating or destroying agency (Ibid). For indigenous groups, the lived experience of colonisation, and the processes of negotiation between the colonisers and the colonised, has resulted in a strong sense of collective identity, and a common sense of purpose in many political matters. Arendt (1958) argues that while a sense of collective identity is important for creating collective agency, the processes in which citizens are able to participate must also be inclusive rather than exclusive, and that effective political agency is only possible through civic engagement and common deliberation when power is devolved and shared.

Barriers to Political Agency

While many of the theoretical ideas described above highlight the positive correlation between citizen participation and political agency, some theories also pay particular attention to the barriers working against agency. Such arguments highlight the ways that the structure of representative democracies concentrates the locus of power, removing individuals from decision-making processes. This limits opportunities for citizens to participate in political processes, which lowers their participatory skills, creates dependency upon the representatives within the system, and diminishes the sense of community and civic duty (See for example: Barber 1984; Mansbridge 1983; Pateman 1970).

Several theories argue that the structure of representative democracies can be a barrier to political agency (Arendt cited in d'Entreves 2008; Barber 1984; Pateman 1970). This is because individuals give up their direct involvement in politics in such systems. Instead, they vote in elections for representatives to bear the burdens of political responsibility for them. Thus, in a representative democracy, individuals rely on those who wield influence and power to act on their behalf to effect desired changes, which enables ordinary citizens to get on with their daily lives. As a consequence, decision-making processes are entrusted to a few representatives, to whom responsibilities and power are delegated, which results in power being concentrated rather than devolved. Mansbridge (1983) describes this process as adversarial democracy, and argues that most modern democracies are characterised by such features. As Bandura (1997) explains, people are willing to relinquish control in certain situations in order to free themselves from the responsibilities and demands that the exercise of control entails, echoing the concerns of de Tocqueville. Bandura describes this delegation of power as proxy control (Bandura 1997).

Although the delegation of power to a few representatives frees individuals to get on with their daily lives, there are several disadvantages, or dangers associated with this. Bandura argues that the danger of proxy control, is a “vulnerable security that rests on the competence, power,

and favours of others.” (Bandura 1997, p.17). The concentration of decision-making practices limits the opportunities for ordinary citizens to participate in, and therefore influence political processes, thus reducing citizens’ effective power, and weakening democracy according to some theorists (Bandura 1997; Barber 1984; Pateman 1970). To have any form of agency once power is delegated, the citizenry, as individuals and as a collective, must attempt to influence the government and its officials in an attempt to have any form of control or effect on decisions made (Bandura 1997). If they are unable to have any influence, their effective agency is severely diminished. Therefore, according to such theories, the social structures inherent in a representative democracy act as a systemic barrier because they, prevent, discourage, or do not rely on direct civic engagement (Arendt cited in d’Entreves 2008).

A lack of involvement in such processes also has the potential to result in a loss of civic skills. As outlined in the previous section, Pateman (1970) claims that democratic participation is an educator in itself and improves not only the sense of agency within individuals, but that it also strengthens democracy. Indeed, one of the key features of a strong democracy, according to this view, is an actively participating citizenry (Barber 1984; Kaufman 1960; Mansbridge 1983; Pateman 1970). Some theories also argue that this also works in reverse. For instance, Pateman (1970) argues that non-participation not only removes the active part of being a citizen, but it also inhibits the opportunity to build the skills required to participate, and to be efficacious. Individuals will not participate in the democratic process unless they have confidence in their own ability to do so – a lack of participation will only diminish this confidence and ability, and thus their efficacy (Ibid).

It follows then, according to this argument, that as the sense of agency reduces, citizens become more reliant on those chosen to represent them, and thus a perpetual cycle of dependency is created. Paradoxically, when citizens rely on others to represent them, they increase their level of dependency. As Bandura (1997) argues, to be able to exert any influence over their representatives (who operate as agents of desired improvements) a high degree of personal efficacy is required. However, the level of dependency created by the system means that individuals may feel that they do not have adequate skills, knowledge or ability to act, or they may believe that others are more competent.

A further problem with the nature of representative democracies is that often there is no need for individuals to be involved in civic matters. This can diminish the sense of community and civic duty that comes from more direct forms of civic participation, such as public debates and community meetings (Barber 1984). The relative distance between individuals, and the decision makers within a political system, can have a significant effect on the sense of duty felt toward that political system. This was a key finding for De Tocqueville, who noted that the sense of

community and civic duty was unable to be translated to a larger scale, as the distance of individuals from a central governing body was simply too great to create such feelings (Ibid).

The Link Between Agency, Efficacy, and Participation

The interaction between the various causal influences described above (citizens, their experiences, and their political communities) makes measuring agency notoriously difficult. Therefore, the empirical work in this area primarily focuses on institutional forms of political participation, people's reasons for participation, and the feelings associated with this. Participation studies have led scholars to look at beliefs in voting (efficacy) and realise that this is part of agency (See for example: Craig & Maggiotto 1982; Craig et al. 1990; Niemi et al. 1991). Since the 1950s, efficacy has been the dominant way of conceiving how individuals feel about their political world. Efficacy measures are now one of the primary tools used in research that aims to understand political attitudes and political agency (Bandura 1997). Researchers further distinguish between internal and external efficacy – internal efficacy describes an individual's belief in their own abilities to participate in the political realm, while external efficacy describes their belief in the likelihood of their wishes being acted upon. According to the efficacy literature, external efficacy is influenced primarily by the level of trust an individual has in the political system, and the representatives within it (Balch 1974; Craig & Maggiotto 1982; Niemi et al. 1991). Many studies have shown that high levels of efficacy generally correlate with high levels of participation, and low levels of efficacy generally correlate with lower levels of participation (Balch 1974; Campbell et al. 1954; Craig & Maggiotto 1982; Niemi et al. 1991). However, it is difficult to draw simplistic correlations because individuals can have differing levels of internal and external efficacy due to the various influences of their social environment. The rest of this section explains the empirical origins of efficacy measures, and how participation and efficacy are linked within this body of literature.

The concept of political efficacy deals specifically with citizens' feelings (individual and collective) about their ability to participate in, and influence the political realm. It is important at this point to emphasise the distinction between agency – the power to act and affect the social world, and efficacy – how an individual feels about their capacity to do so (Bandura 1982). According to Bandura (1982), people's belief in their capability to produce desired effects by their actions (their efficacy) is a key aspect of human agency. Although Bandura's work in this area is not always directly related to the political realm, his work led other scholars to develop this link further by exploring the relationships between the political environment, and individuals' feelings about their capacity to influence that environment through participation.

A large body of research since the 1950s has looked at the influence of efficacy on political participation, particularly in elections. The first empirical research that examined the relationship between agency and political participation was Campbell, Gurin and Miller's study of the National Election Survey data. The National Election Survey (NES) study examined public participation in the American presidential elections and found that individuals who felt that they were listened to by their representatives, who thought that political activity was worthwhile, and that had an understanding of political processes (not just limited to voting) were more likely to directly participate in these processes (Campbell et al. 1954). The original aim of the study was not to measure agency or efficacy, but rather, to explain the variances in participation in representative elections. It was the first time however that a sense of efficacy was identified within the empirical data.

The authors of the study used several statements to measure participant's feelings about political participation. A Likert scale was created, and statements were ranked from agree strongly, through to disagree strongly. Several key statements from this original study have since been used extensively in participation studies:

1. "I don't think public officials care much what people like me think."
2. "The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country."
3. "Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things."
4. "People like me don't have any say about what the government does."
5. "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on." (Campbell et al. 1954, p. 220)

Disagree responses to 1, 3, 4 and 5 – and agree responses to 2 were coded as efficacious. The generalised findings were that the level of efficacy was relative to the level of participation. That is, those with who indicated high efficacy levels were more likely to participate in elections, and conversely, those with low efficacy levels were less likely to participate.

Since the Campbell et al. study, the concept of efficacy has been examined extensively, and further broken down into two distinct but interrelated aspects – internal efficacy, and external efficacy. In the 1970s researchers realised that how an individual felt about their own capacity to participate in the political realm (their internal efficacy) was different from how they felt about the likelihood of their wishes being acted upon by their elected representatives (their external efficacy). They suggested that internal efficacy is influenced by factors such as knowledge, education and self-confidence. In contrast, they suggested that external efficacy explained an individual's feelings toward the political system, and the individuals in public office. It was

hypothesised that this external form of efficacy explains whether individuals believe that they and their fellow citizens will be heard, and by whom (Balch 1974). The findings of Balch's 1974 empirical study showed correlations between an individual's belief in their own capacity to influence the system, and their degree of political participation – but that the belief in their own abilities did not necessarily correlate with feelings toward the political system or its representatives (Balch 1974). Interestingly, Balch also concluded that when individuals showed a high level of trust toward the system, they also showed a higher level of belief that they could successfully influence public officials (Ibid). Balch's empirical findings were consistent with Pateman's theory that the way an individual feels about their own ability to participate in the political and civic realm is unique from the way they feel about the political system itself (Pateman 1970). The distinction between internal and external efficacy is now widely accepted in both theoretical and empirical studies.

It is important to be able to distinguish between these two aspects of efficacy, because while there is often a relationship between internal and external efficacy, individuals can exhibit a strong sense of one and not the other. For this study, the distinction is important because minority groups (such as indigenous peoples) are known to have a large distance between their levels of internal and external efficacy (Bowler & Donovan 2002; Finkel 1985; Hero & Tolbert 2004; Wolfsfeld 1986). This is true of many minority groups, where empirical studies of such groups have shown that an individual may have a high level of internal efficacy, while at the same time having a low level of external efficacy (see for example: Bessant 2004; Donald 2010; Flanagan & Levine 2010; Sheerin 2007). Indigenous groups, youth, and other minorities, for example, often have negative experiences of the political system compared with the rest of the population, which lowers the level of trust and faith in the political system and the individuals within it, and in turn affects their level of external efficacy. Yet many of those same individuals may have the skill and political acumen to participate if they wish to do so, meaning that their level of internal efficacy can still be high. The data from the original NES study also showed variances between the levels of internal and external efficacy in the same participants, even though they were not specifically testing for them separately. The findings suggested that the levels of trust differed between different socioeconomic and ethnic groups. There was a much lower level of trust in those from lower income groups, and in particular from African Americans (Campbell et al. 1954). What these studies show is that a high level of internal efficacy may be present because an individual has the skills, knowledge and ability to participate, and a strong sense of what the issues are; but, if they are disassociated or disengaged with the political system or they do not trust the individuals within it, they may choose not to participate in general

elections or other institutionalised forms of political participation. These variances highlight the importance of having a clear understanding of what type of efficacy is being measured.

Problems and Limitations with Efficacy Measures

Much of the contemporary participation research follows the same methods and uses the same or similar measures that were utilised by Campbell et al. in their 1954 study, but with the separation of the internal and external measures. Many empirical researchers argue that the measures provide consistent results, and that this makes them particularly robust (see for example: Craig & Maggiotto 1982; Craig et al. 1990; Morrell 2003,2005; Niemi et al. 1991). However, other researchers have found that there are some inconsistencies with these types of efficacy measures (See for example: Bowler & Donovan 2012; Hero & Tolbert 2004; Mansbridge 1999). In addition to the inconsistencies identified by these researchers, there are further limitations with the standard efficacy measures for gaining an understanding of political agency. First, it is not as easy as the literature suggests isolating internal and external efficacy from the effects of each other. In addition, it is difficult to isolate the link between efficacy and participation, or participation and efficacy, from other possible effects. This section debates these problems.

While many empirical researchers argue that it is important to clearly separate internal and external efficacy, some scholars argue that it is difficult to treat the two aspects as distinct phenomena, because each affects the other in both subtle and obvious ways (Bandura 1997; Wolfsfeld 1986). Bandura theorises, for example, that there are two distinct aspects to the exercise of social change through political control. The first aspect is personal, where the individuals' perceptions of their own capabilities and resources are considered, and the second aspect is how amenable the social systems themselves are to change (Bandura 1997). Bandura argues that 'opportunity structures' within social systems enable individuals, and collectives, to have an influence on change (Ibid). According to Bandura's view then, there is a clear correlation between the intractability of social systems, and a sense of personal efficacy. The system and the individuals within it are inextricably linked; therefore the level of amenability in the system is a reflection of the level of personal efficacy (Ibid). If the system is responsive to change, this in turn creates a high level of external efficacy, and if the system is complex and difficult to change, the level of external efficacy is likely to be lower according to this view (Ibid).

In addition to Bandura's theoretical criticism, the difficulties in clearly isolating internal and external efficacy from the effects of each other are demonstrated empirically by Madsen (1987). Using survey data from India, Madsen set out to measure how success or failure in influencing government officials affected individuals' sense of both internal and external efficacy. His analysis

found that those who were successful had enhanced self-efficacy – however, these same individuals did not see the government as particularly responsive (Madsen 1987). Madsen also found that unsuccessful petitioners do not see themselves as particularly inefficacious, but they did have a negative view of government (Ibid). That is, the study found that external efficacy in this case was asymmetrical. When an individual had a positive experience with government, it had little or no effect on how they viewed the responsiveness of the government; however, when an individual had a bad experience, their view of the government was quite negative (Ibid). It is no surprise then, that one of the key findings of this research is that perceptions of system responsiveness can be very fragile (Madsen 1987). Even with a responsive system, the individual may credit their own sense of efficacy, rather than the efforts of the system to respond to citizen's needs according to the results of this study. The surprising conclusion from this study was that positive self-efficacy is more easily taught and maintained than positive perceptions of government responsiveness. While many argue that internal and external efficacy must be clearly separated, this study demonstrates some of the difficulties with the neat separation of these two elements due to the complex interactions of each type of efficacy with the other, and with external influences. In addition, it highlights the difficulties in concluding that positive experiences will result in high levels of efficacy, and negative experiences will result in low levels of efficacy.

While empirical studies have shown a link between participation and some aspects of efficacy (Finkel 1985), most have not been able to sufficiently or consistently establish a causal relationship between efficacy feelings and participation. The focus on the linear relationship between efficacy, and participation does not adequately consider the sources of personal efficacy, or other influences on an individual's sense of agency.

As previously argued, many agency theories maintain that there are reciprocal effects between agency and participation (See for example: Arendt cited in d'Entrevies 1994; Pateman 1970), and that participation itself is a key source of political agency, efficacy or trust. Some recent studies seek to empirically test this assumption by examining the links between socio-political learning and the acquisition of civic skills, and whether this can contribute to a sense of efficacy or political trust (see for example: Beaumont 2011; Flanagan 2003; Schlozman et al. 1995). In her study of youth political efficacy, Beaumont (2011) identifies three ways that people gain a sense of political efficacy: social status, civic resources, and political socialisation. Beaumont's empirical research found that socioeconomic status influences individuals' involvement in politically active groups because of the resources available, networks formed, and influence of social norms (Beaumont 2011). She concludes from this study that the more that a young person is exposed to a political environment the more likely they are to continue participating as they get older (Ibid). A further empirical study on youth political participation,

(Flanagan 2003) found that involvement in youth type organisations provides the opportunity for young people to learn to be part of a collective, to exercise their rights, and to take on roles of responsibility which allows them to continue into adulthood with the skills to enable them to be fully participating members of the political or civic community. These findings are consistent with Pateman's social training theory, that is – the more an individual is involved in political participation, the more they are likely to continue to do so. However this still does not tell us if the individuals feel an enhanced sense of agency – only that they are more likely to continue to participate.

The problems with linking political participation to agency, is highlighted further in studies that look specifically at minority groups. One of the issues highlighted in these studies are the inconsistencies with efficacy measures. As discussed in previous sections, many scholars argue that levels of trust and empowerment are important influencers of political agency in individuals. Banducci et al. (2004) argue though, that there is a degree of uncertainty about exactly how increased representation affects the trust, efficacy and participation, especially of minority groups. They tested minority empowerment theory, which suggests that citizens who are part of a minority are more likely to become empowered with greater visible representation in the political realm (which would suggest that their levels of external efficacy would increase). The Banducci et al. study surveyed minorities in both the United States and New Zealand, as both countries incorporate measures into their electoral systems to ensure that a sufficient level of minority representation exists. Their findings were consistent with the minority empowerment theory, and showed that the race or ethnicity of representatives influences the recall (of who the representative is), contact (with the representative), and approval (of the representative's performance) in a positive way (Banducci et al. 2004). The increased level of representation was also found to empower minority individuals, and led to them being more likely to vote in elections. However, even though individuals felt more empowered, levels of trust in government (and therefore external efficacy) remained low amongst the participants of this study (Ibid). Even though there was a positive link found between empowerment and levels of participation, the levels of trust (a key indicator of external efficacy) remained low. This means that for understanding agency, efficacy and participation measures are neither reliable nor sufficient. Therefore, it is important to consider individual circumstances, and how this affects the behaviours and feelings of individuals toward politics.

Empirical studies have also attempted to research the effects of direct participation in an attempt to substantiate the theories of Pateman, Barber and Arendt, which argue that the more direct participation in democracy is, the more likely the citizens are to be engaged politically. However, research of this nature has also produced inconsistent outcomes, especially when

measuring the effects on minorities. Bowler and Donovan (2012) found, for example, that while direct democratic processes had a positive overall effect, they produced a negative effect for racial and ethnic minorities. They argue that this is particularly the case where minorities make up a large percentage of the population, because if the majority overrides the wishes of the minority, the minority feels a greater sense of powerlessness, and thus are less efficacious (Ibid). In a subsequent study however, Hero and Tolbert (2004) found that social context made little difference in the confidence that citizens have in government. The data from the Hero and Tolbert study supported the thesis that institutional context is important – that direct democracy increases levels of efficacy – however there was not a significant variation in the data between racial or ethnic groups (Ibid). Dyck and Lascher however, question the robustness of these studies in their ability to explain a positive link between direct democracy and political efficacy. They argue that the research is lacking a psychological basis, and that it is too presumptuous to make claims about how the mere presence of certain political processes can have an impact on how citizens feel about the effectiveness of their democracy.

While it may be possible to use efficacy measures to understand reasons for participation, it is more difficult to establish whether those participating have an enhanced sense of agency. Renshon argued in the 1970s that the theory of political efficacy had not been sufficiently developed and that its usefulness was limited as a theory of electoral engagement (Renshon 1974). As argued above, while the efficacy measures may have been refined, fundamentally these methods remain similar to those used in the Campbell et al. study. Many efficacy studies fail to identify whether individuals participate because they think they are making a difference, or whether they participate out of habit or a sense of duty. As Bandura argues, much of the efficacy research that measures beliefs only measures how the beliefs affect political participation, rather than the belief in one's ability or capability to influence the political process. Efficacy as a theoretical construct then, may not be sufficient to examine the factors that motivate individuals to be civically or politically engaged – or to explain their sense of agency.

Alternative suggestions have been made in two recent theses which both question whether efficacy is a sufficient measure of citizen's attitudes (Donald 2010; Sheerin 2007). Sheerin (2007) argues, for example, that efficacy should be broken down into more simple elements, such as 'interest in politics' as this may be more useful as an independent indicator of participation rather than efficacy in a broader sense. Going further, in her study of youth and political participation, Donald explores alternative explanations for non-participation. She suggests that methods other than efficacy measures need to be explored to explain political and civic engagement and participation. Her suggestions include: psychological theories, rational choice theory and post-

materialist theory which, she argues, may explain the experiences of young non-voters more effectively than efficacy (Donald 2010).

While many argue that efficacy measures are robust and have produced consistent results over time, as argued above the relationship between political participation, efficacy, and agency, is neither linear, nor consistent. First, the complex interrelationship between internal and external efficacy, and the intractability of the social systems that individuals operate within, makes measuring internal and external efficacy separately difficult. Second, there is no consistent causal or symmetrical relationship between positive or negative experiences of the political system, and high or low efficacy. Finally, although studies may conclude that increased participation means that those who participate feel an enhanced sense of efficacy, we still do not know if they have an enhanced sense of agency – that is, if they actually have more ability to make a difference.

Understanding Agency in Indigenous Groups

In addition to the limitations highlighted above, much of the efficacy literature presents a poor model for understanding the agency of indigenous groups, and therefore for Māori. There are several problems of note. Firstly, their traditions and history of colonisation mean that as a population group, Māori do not necessarily exhibit the conception of agency presupposed by the efficacy studies. To recap, efficacy studies presuppose a conception of agency where citizens have a degree of trust and confidence in those who are elected to represent their views sufficiently, and feel empowered by their ability to contribute by voting in elections. This narrow conception of agency is not only reflected in the way that agency is studied, but also in the way that different groups conceptualise politics itself. The narrow focus of efficacy methodologies on specific forms of participation makes it difficult to establish the political attitudes of indigenous groups, whose political focus extends beyond voting in elections. This section highlights some of the conceptual difficulties inherent in efficacy studies, and also discusses what this means for understanding the political agency of indigenous groups.

While it is important for empirical research to be narrowly focused, one of the problems with efficacy as a measure for indigenous groups is the assumption that the end goal of political engagement is voting, and that this act will have similarly positive outcomes for everyone (Sheerin 2007). However individuals can have vastly different experiences of the political system in which they are embedded. In the case of minorities, the one citizen-one vote system of majority rule poses a significant disadvantage and makes it difficult to have a political voice. For indigenous groups, this disadvantage is exacerbated by the imposition of Western democratic institutions over the top of existing modes of social and political organisation (Xanthaki &

O'Sullivan 2009). An Australian study on aboriginal political attitudes demonstrated how the imposition of Western forms of government has affected the attitude of indigenous citizens. The study found that many participants thought that elections were not relevant to them or their community, and somewhat pointless (Hill & Alport 2010). This, they claimed, was because the government does not listen, or communicate with them about important decisions (Ibid). Ladner (2003) argues that low efficacy feelings in such groups originate from aboriginal people failing to see themselves as part of the political process, which stems from a deeper issue of not feeling respected as individuals or communities in general. According to Ladner, this remains so even when there is representation and widespread community participation in elections (Ibid). These findings suggest that historical alienation has had a negative effect on indigenous individual's attitudes to elections and voting. For the majority of citizens, participation means voting, but colonised peoples are likely to be antagonistic toward, or disconnected from such a values system, due to the nature of the relationship between themselves and the state.

The idea that each citizen has one vote of equal value has a short history in New Zealand. Democracy was not practiced in New Zealand until late in the 19th century. Māori were excluded from voting until 1867, and women until 1893. While the role of the individual in democracies is what defines many contemporary agency theories, this is a fairly recent development in political thought (Christman 2009). As Mansbridge (1983) points out, understandings of democracy that predate this colonial era, are not built upon voting but upon reasoning to find the best solution (Ibid). Such understandings align better with those understandings held by indigenous groups. O'Sullivan (2007) argues that Māori prefer a conception of democracy where the notion of self-determination is upheld to allow citizens to make free choices, including the choice of how they want to be politically governed. It is difficult then, to make assumptions about the political attitudes of indigenous groups using standard efficacy measures, when their conception of democracy maybe markedly different from contemporary Western conceptions of democracy.

The perception of what is political can differ significantly between different groups. For indigenous groups, it could be argued that politics is seen as being much more connected to their everyday lives due to the impact that political decisions have had on their people. In a study of women's attitudes to voting, Hayward and Wilson Kelly (2009) found that Pacific and Māori participants showed a higher level of political engagement. More importantly, there was a strong connection between political issues, and their own lives (Ibid). Hill and Allport (2010) also found in their Australian study that the participants were not interested in communicating with government officials only at election time. Instead, they wanted to communicate in a 'normal way' in their own language, about matters that are relevant in their lives. This study concluded that even though there were both low internal and external efficacy factors that affected participation,

there was high a desire from the individuals to be involved in the political arena (Hill & Alport 2010). These two examples highlight the importance of discovering what citizens understand to be political and what it means for them to be politically and civically engaged rather than focusing on scholarly definitions and methods, because this can vary between different groups depending on their experiences of the political system in which they live. As argued, most efficacy measures use a particular conception of agency, which places emphasis on voting in democratic institutions.

For Māori, such scholarly understandings in the efficacy literature of the political fail to address the many types of political activities and forums that Māori may wish to engage in, and have an influence on. In New Zealand, for example, there are many other forms of political participation, both institutional, and otherwise, that Māori may wish to participate in. The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the existence of many democratic institutions other than parliament, have given Māori more opportunity to engage in political forums such as school boards of trustees, health boards, and local and regional councils. Research should not only consider these other forums, but also the ways that Māori may want to participate in such forums, which may differ from non-Māori. They may want to engage through reasoning and collaboration to find agreeable solutions, rather than the majority vote system that is prevalent in democratic systems. Standard efficacy measures often fail to address, or even acknowledge these alternatives, and therefore their effectiveness for gaining an understanding of Māori political agency is limited.

The narrow conception of efficacy follows Campbell et. al, in asking only about voting, the effectiveness of the government, or the reliability of public officials (Wolfsfeld 1986). This narrow conception of politics and political behaviour within such studies enables researchers to measure specific behaviours in an accurate and meaningful way, however, the imposition of a particular concept of 'the political' could result in a misunderstanding of political attitudes and participation (O'Toole et al. 2003). Moreover, such narrow definitions may not allow particular groups to adequately express their feelings towards the political realm, which limits the ability of researchers to gain a full understanding of their political attitudes, and their sense of agency. As Wolfsfeld (1986) argues, it is important to understand the motivations for participating in both institutional and mobilisation modes of action to fully understand political attitudes (Ibid). To conclude, the concept of what is considered to be political needs to be widened, particularly if studying indigenous groups such as Māori.

A further problem with the narrow conception of political action is that such studies infer that other modes of political action are less legitimate, or at the very least less desirable than institutional modes of action such as voting in elections. This can result in studies overlooking many other forms of political action. Individuals may participate politically in other ways, such as

petitions, protests, or being involved in groups that oppose the political status quo. If such actions are deemed to be less legitimate than institutionalised forms of participation, this can result in conclusions being drawn about the political attitudes of individuals who act in a certain way in the political realm. This can be somewhat short-sighted, as there may be a great number of reasons behind the decision to participate or not in institutionalised modes of political action. As previously argued, they may indeed have a high level of internal efficacy but choose not to participate because they have a low level of trust and faith in the system, or they may have faith in the system, but not the individuals within it. Standard efficacy studies may alert the researchers to this juxtaposition of efficacy feelings, but fall short of explaining the origins or complexities of such feelings. Therefore, how we define 'the political' becomes an important factor when trying to understand political agency.

Conclusion: Key Concepts Emerging from the Literature

This chapter has examined some of the key theoretical concepts found in agency and efficacy literature, discussed the origins of empirical efficacy studies, and highlighted some of the methodological and conceptual difficulties with current methods of measuring agency.

As argued, agency operates in a broad framework of socio-structural causal influences. For this reason, it is often articulated within broader social and political contexts, such as democracy and participation theories. Agency is described within these theories as the ability for individuals and collectives to engage in purposeful action within their political world. Some theories also argue that there are reciprocal effects between agency and participation, and that the level of social training gained from participation in civic matters affects the likelihood of further participation.

Collectives are also important in such theories, that is, those groups with a strong sense of collective identity are more likely to have a shared belief that they can enact social change. Some theorists argue though, that the structures that are implicit in representative democracies inhibit agency by reducing the opportunities for participation, thus reducing the level of social training, and as a consequence, the level of agency. The theoretical literature has uncovered three main concepts that will be tested in this thesis:

Concept one: political participation has a positive effect on individuals and society as a whole. This can be further broken down into the following points:

- Participation in civic and political processes is good for the human character and increases self assertion.
- Participation promotes an unselfish concern for public good.

- Exposure to the political environment enhances further participation through social training.
- The theory of social training only works if democratic processes occur throughout the different levels in society.

Concept two: collective action and collective identity are important aspects of political agency.

This concept can also be broken down into several key points:

- Collective action is more effective than acting alone because when resources are pooled social change is more likely.
- Goals must be converted to a single purpose.
- A greater sense of collective identity fosters common purpose more easily. That is, there must be a shared belief in the ability to produce results.

Concept three: Socio-political structures work against agency. This concept also contains several themes:

- The representative nature of democracy concentrates power, meaning that there is less deliberation and collaboration.
- There are limited opportunities to participate in such systems because representative democracy prevents, discourages, or does not rely on participation.
- A loss of civic skills is a problem for democracy.

In addition to the theoretical literature, as highlighted, empirical research in political science has predominantly focused on efficacy and political participation as a measure of political attitudes. Efficacy describes how an individual feels about their capacity to act in, and have an effect on, the social world. There are both internal and external forms of efficacy. Much of the empirical work on efficacy uses specific indicators to measure both internal and external efficacy. These indicators are most often framed in the context of democratic institutions and processes such as elections and voting. Some of the criticisms of efficacy studies highlight that this narrow and specific focus only explains one small aspect of agency. Another criticism is that it is hard to isolate the effects of internal and external factors from each other. It is also difficult to pinpoint efficacy as a singular causal influence on participation, or participation as having a positive effect on political agency.

A more fundamental problem with efficacy studies is that they draw upon theories of agency that focus on the processes within representative democracies – and in particular, the role of the individual. Methods of studying agency that specifically focus on participation in democratic

institutions may fall short of explaining indigenous political agency. As argued, the notion of electoral participation, where each citizen has one vote, poses a significant disadvantage for minority groups; this disadvantage is more apparent in the case of indigenous groups, whose own systems of political organisation have been usurped by colonial imposition. Indigenous individuals' experiences and understandings of the political realm are quite likely to differ from those of the wider population, and as such their sense of agency is formed from a different perspective. Additionally, much of the contemporary agency literature that informs empirical studies focuses on the ideal of individual citizens fully participating in democratic processes, in which the reward is the satisfaction gained from their contribution. This presents a particularly poor model for groups whose identity is bound in notions of collective action and reasoning. It is therefore more useful to take a broader approach to agency when studying the political attitudes of indigenous groups, to allow for the expression of different types of political action, and different understandings of what constitutes 'the political'. Thus, a further concept is identified that will be tested in this thesis:

Concept four: Are standard efficacy measures useful for understanding Māori political attitudes?

This concept raises the following questions:

- Māori and indigenous groups often display lower external efficacy due to a lack of trust and faith in the system, but there can be high internal efficacy in the same individuals. Is this true for Māori?
- Is it possible to isolate internal and external efficacy from the effects of each other?
- Is there a clear relationship between agency and efficacy? Is there a clear relationship between efficacy and participation? Or, is this difficult to establish as chapter two will argue?

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

As the previous chapters have illustrated, in order to make the process of measuring agency more straightforward, empirical researchers have predominantly focused on efficacy and its relationship with political participation. Such studies use quantitative methods that focus on voting behaviour to draw conclusions about political agency. While these studies offer some explanation of the political choices of individuals, in most cases they fail to adequately explain the political attitudes that lay behind those choices. They also fail to consider the influence of various environmental factors, such as lived experience, that contribute to the formation of political attitudes. Smaller scale qualitative approaches have attempted to gain a deeper understanding of political agency by using less structured methods, such as in-depth interviews and focus groups, yet in a similar way to the quantitative approach, there is a tendency to focus solely on voting behaviour as the primary measure of whether citizens are politically engaged. This narrow focus on efficacy and voting behaviour fails to explain the reasons why efficacy does or does not exist, and does not account for the many factors that can influence individuals' feelings about the political and civic realm. Typical methods also fail to consider individuals' perception of what activities are considered to be political. As discussed in Chapter One, there have been many studies carried out in New Zealand that attempt to understand why Māori may, or may not, choose to participate in various political forums. However, very little research has captured, how Māori feel about their ability to make a difference in their political community. The aim of this thesis is to address that research gap by using a Q-methodological approach to explore these issues. More specifically, the research will ask, what it is that Māori aspire to as political agents, what they perceive to be barriers to those aspirations, and whether they believe that they can have an effect on the political realm if they choose to do so.

This thesis uses Q-methodology, since it fits well with indigenous research methodologies, or more specifically, a Kaupapa Māori¹¹ research approach. For indigenous groups, research and academia is typically a site of struggle given the long history of colonisation, imperialism, and the objectification of the 'other' through an imperial gaze (Smith 1999,2012). A Kaupapa Māori approach seeks to address these issues in several ways by: re-examining the relationship between the researcher and the researched; considering who will benefit from the knowledge being produced; using culturally informed and culturally safe research techniques; ensuring that

¹¹ In essence, Kaupapa Māori literally means 'a Māori way of doing', or 'Māori agenda' (Henry & Pene 2001).

the participants are at the centre of the research; and, addressing the dominance of Western ideological superiority (Bishop 2008; Henry & Pene 2001). A Q-method study allows the researcher to address several of these concerns. First, participants can be involved early in the research process. In this study, participants were involved in the research design by participating in focus groups and freely expressing their opinions and viewpoints, which ensures that the indigenous voice becomes central to the study. The statements generated through this process are then used in the research proper. Second, Q-methodology negates the need for the researcher to have a prior hypothesis, or preconceived ideas about the outcomes of the research. This is because Q-methodology is a bottom-up, hypothesis generating method. The participants' viewpoints tell the story through the Q-sorting process – the researcher interprets and articulates the viewpoints identified, and can check them with participants.

Q-methodology is well suited to research that seeks to understand subjective points of view because of the ability to identify clusters of shared meaning, or collective viewpoints (Brown 1980; Stenner & Watts 2012; Stephenson 1953). This is done by establishing a concourse, or range of views on a topic, expressing these views as statements, and asking participants to rank those statements according to how they feel about them. This data is then analysed using factor analysis techniques. The ability of Q-method to objectively quantify subjective points of view makes it useful for a variety of applications. It is particularly useful in studies where there is a wide range of views on a given topic. Q-methodology is able to bridge the gap between theoretical literature and the public's understanding of concepts by identifying shared points of view – this enables the creation of new theories and hypotheses about the topic or issue in question (Theiss-Morse 1993). Q-method also gives a deeper understanding of issues that have reached an impasse, or that are characterised by polarised opinions (van Eeten 2001). In this thesis, Q-method allows the subjectivity of Māori political agency to be objectively quantified, and thus, a deeper understanding of what Māori aspire to as political agents can be gained.

While there are many positive aspects to Q-methodological research, it is important to acknowledge some of the limitations of this methodology. It cannot necessarily prove or disprove hypotheses; it does not always yield the same results over time; and the results are not generalisable. Like any social science tool though, such limitations need not be limiting. The results of a Q study should create new questions and challenge old assumptions. It should also add meaning to research questions with complex or contested answers.

The rest of this chapter will explain Kaupapa Māori approaches to research, and describe the characteristics and operational aspects of Q-methodology. The justification for the use of these methods will be given; in particular, how Q-method is aligned with a Kaupapa Māori approach. Ethics and sampling considerations will also be explained in detail.

Indigenous Research Methodologies and Kaupapa Māori Research

The detrimental effect that historical academic research has had on indigenous peoples cannot be understated. Western stereotypes and notions of imperialism and superiority have been reinforced through academic processes and institutions by undervaluing, misrepresenting, and in some cases treating such knowledge as a commodity for individual gain (Bishop 2008; Smith 1999). Indigenous methodologies seek to redress this balance by challenging Western notions of how research should, and can be done. In Aotearoa, this takes the form of Kaupapa Māori – an approach that guides the production of indigenous knowledge.

Western academia tends to operate as though it views the world through a neutral and objective framework, but historically this has not been the case, particularly when researching indigenous groups (Smith 1999). As Smith (1999) argues, historically, academic research has reinforced existing colonial power relationships by objectifying indigenous groups through an ‘imperial gaze’ and using processes that emphasised notions of ‘the other’. Such processes have undervalued, oversimplified, and in some cases misrepresented indigenous knowledge (Bishop 2008). Smith (1999) notes that while academics tend to be well meaning, and hold the belief that their research will in some way benefit mankind, for indigenous peoples the negative connotations that research has carried with it means that indigenous peoples are still sceptical of such processes (Smith 2012). What is more, the reinforcement of existing power relationships through such processes has meant that indigenous knowledge is controlled within Western cultural frameworks (Bishop 2008; Smith 2000).

In order to redress the dominance of Western ideology within the research process, indigenous methodologies seek to decolonise the practice of academic research, particularly colonial and post-colonial impositions (Bishop 2008). Decolonisation of research methodologies involves reasserting the indigenous voice, and bringing it from the periphery into the centre (Dei et al. 2000). It also involves challenging assumptions about how research should, and can be done. Dei et al. (2000) highlight the emergence (or rather re-assertion) of indigenous pedagogies that celebrate indigenous ways of researching that challenge the dominance of mainstream Western academia. These alternative understandings are asserting their status as legitimate ways of understanding and describing the world (Ibid). In adopting this decolonising approach, research is conducted only after careful consideration of the methodologies employed, the theories behind those methodologies, the kinds of questions that the research may generate, and the style in which the research will be presented (Chilisa 2012; Smith 1999).

In Aotearoa, a Kaupapa Māori approach speaks to many of the concerns that Māori have about academic research. To do Kaupapa Māori research is to research in a way that is not merely respectful of Māori culture, but rather, it is to research in a way that “...embraces traditional

beliefs and ethics, while incorporating contemporary resistance strategies that embody the drive for *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination and empowerment) for *Māori* people.” (Henry & Pene 2001, p. 237). According to Durie (1998), *Māori* knowledge must be understood in the context of self-determination. It is vital, he argues, for *Māori* to gain greater power and control over their resources, including knowledge resources, and that this is essential for *Māori* to achieve their aspirations (Ibid).

As with other indigenous research approaches, Kaupapa *Māori* research places *Māori* firmly in the centre of the research paradigm, but there are further equally important aspects to this approach such as: the power relationship between the researcher and the researched; the acquisition, construction, and use of the knowledge; who will benefit from the knowledge; and the use of a culturally safe and culturally informed approach (Henry & Pene 2001). Smith (1999) also stresses that the research must serve the community in some way, and while the benefits to those being researched may not be immediately apparent, they must be clear in the researcher’s mind, and be able to be articulated clearly. Much of the research done *about* *Māori*, merely tells us what we already know, and often constructs *Māori* as deficient in some way (Cram 1993). Research done using a Kaupapa *Māori* approach should empower *Māori*, not disempower them. According to Smith (1999), the researcher must work *with* communities and maximise opportunities for input and participation. She stresses that it is important to ensure that the research is conducted *with* *Māori*, not *about* *Māori* (Ibid). Smith outlines some broad guidelines that are useful for this: having respect for people, conducting research face to face, look-listen-speak, share and host people and be generous, be cautious, do not trample on the mana¹² of people, and do not flaunt your knowledge (Smith 1999).

As a research approach, Kaupapa *Māori* is both a set of research practices, and philosophical beliefs (Henry & Pene 2001). In some ways it is difficult to separate this set of practices from other approaches. Smith argues that Kaupapa *Māori* is a localised critical theory: it “...weaves in and out of *Māori* cultural beliefs and values, Western forms of education, *Māori* aspirations and socioeconomic needs, and Western economies and global structures...” (Smith 2000, p. 233). This view acknowledges the fluidity of *Māori* society, and the changing dynamics of a culture that does not exist in a vacuum.

The aim of this thesis is to highlight alternative ways of understanding *Māori* political agency by using a Kaupapa *Māori* approach and Q-methodology. While it may seem contradictory to use a Western based methodology when conducting such research, Q-method was chosen because of the superb ‘fit’ between its processes of group work, face-to-face communication and self-referential subjectivity, and Kaupapa *Māori* research methodologies. *Māori* are included in the

¹² Mana most commonly refers to the power or authority of an individual.

research design phase through their involvement in focus groups, which determined the self-referential statements to be studied. Q-method also allows the researcher to approach the topic without any preconceived ideas about outcomes. Moreover, in line with Kaupapa Methodological principles of self-determination, and decolonising methodologies, the entire theme of this thesis is to reconsider the ways in which political agency is understood, by problematizing the dominance of the Western philosophical ideals that underpin existing methods of studying political agency.

Q-methodology – Background and Generating the Data

Stephenson created Q-methodology in the 1930s in order to improve existing methods of measuring subjectivity. He believed that by capturing the broadest range of points of view on a particular issue (the *concourse*), expressing those points of view as a set of statements (the *Q-set*), and asking participants (the *P-set*) to rank those statements (the *Q-sort*), this would lead to a more nuanced understanding of a group's feelings towards the issue in question (Stenner et al. 2007). The advantage of Q-method over other methodologies is that it uses statistical modelling to assist the researcher with factor analysis. While numbers are used in Q-method, they are not used for the purposes of quantitative analysis, rather they are used to help understand the relevance of particular responses (Stenner et al. 2007). Several software programmes are available to assist with this task, including Q-Assessor¹³ and PQmethod. Both of these programmes enable the statements to be loaded, the participants' rankings of those statements to be captured, and factor analysis and factor rotation to be completed. Factor analysis and factor rotation help the researcher to identify segments of shared meaning (the *factors*), and allow the factors to be viewed from different perspectives in order to better understand the relationship between them (Brown 1980; Stenner & Watts 2012; Stenner et al. 2007). The result is the production of a series of summarizing accounts which holistically capture the viewpoint contained within each emergent factor (Stenner et al. 2007). The rest of this section will explain the process of a Q-method study.

In order to complete an effective Q study, there are some key steps that need to be followed, the first of which is to establish a research question. According to Brown (1980) the research question must be succinct. This is because the question serves as a “...condition of instruction for the sorting process itself” (Stenner et al. 2007, p. 220). In other words, the question dictates the types of statements that will be generated for the *Q-set*. It is only necessary to have a research question, not a hypothesis – the idea of a Q-method study is to draw upon the ideas generated, and analyse the meaning that is infused upon those ideas when the participants rank the

¹³ During the process of this research, the Q-Assessor application was discontinued, therefore the data was analysed using PQmethod.

statements (Brown 1980; Stenner & Watts 2012; Stephenson 1953). It is the subsequent exploration of why phenomena is manifesting itself in certain ways that generates theories and hypotheses (Stenner & Watts 2012). To help keep the research question focused, Curt (1994) suggests that it is preferable to deal with one of three aspects of a problem: how the issue is represented or understood within a group, how the issue is understood at a personal level, and what should be done about the issue. Stenner and Watts (2012) also suggest thinking about specific aspects of a topic: what makes something happen (causes), what it is like right now (definitions), and what should be done about it (reactions). Separation avoids conflating several aspects into one, and keeps the question succinct. This gives greater clarity to the participants during the sort process, resulting in higher quality data. This thesis specifically deals with the definitions or understandings of Māori political agency, and therefore asks what it is that Māori aspire to as political agents, and if they believe they have the capacity to make a difference in their political world if they choose to do so.

The next important step in a Q-method study is to establish the 'concourse'. The concourse refers to the full array of thoughts and expressions about a given issue or topic (Stephenson 1953). The establishment of the concourse is achieved through the generation of a series of statements, which can be done in a number of ways. Theory can be used as a starting point to establish key aspects of the concourse from which self-referential statements can be created– this on its own however is not sufficient (Stenner et al. 2007). To generate a full set of items which will sufficiently cover the concourse, organic conversations with a range of participants is necessary (Brown 1980). Therefore, for this process to be effective, it is imperative to be suitably conversant with the theme in question (Brown 1980).

A combination of methods has been employed in this study to gain a thorough understanding of the topic at hand. A review of existing studies about Māori political participation was undertaken – these were summarised in the Introduction Chapter. In Chapter Two, a literature review examined the theories of agency, as well as how political agency is measured. In addition, focus groups have been conducted to allow the participants to express in their own words what they aspire to as political agents, and if they believe they have the ability to make a difference in the political realm. The participants were implicit in the research design phase as they generated the Q-set of statements that were used in the next part of the research process – the Q-sorting. The statements generated from the focus groups are supplemented by some additional statements gleaned from the literature on agency and efficacy, and from previous studies on political agency. The Campbell et al. efficacy statements¹⁴, for example, have been included in the

¹⁴ As explained in Chapter Two, this definitive efficacy study shaped how efficacy is measured in political science.

Q-set as a reference point in order to observe how other statements cluster in relation to the standard efficacy measures.

While the Q-set is not an exhaustive set of ideas, advocates of Q-methodology (For example: Brown 1980; Stenner et al. 2007) argue that it should be obvious to the researcher when the full concourse has been covered and no new relevant ideas are forthcoming. There are a range of scholarly opinions about how many statements are required to ensure full coverage of the concourse, however most agree that around forty to fifty items is sufficient to cover the issue fully whilst avoiding participant frustration or exhaustion during the sorting phase (Stenner & Watts 2012).

Stenner and Watts (2012) argue that it is important to peruse and edit the Q-set to ensure that the statements are clear and concise before proceeding to the Q-sort stage. The idea of editing is both for clarity, and to ensure that the participants are not unduly biased or directed in any one particular direction by evocative wording (Brown 1980; Stenner & Watts 2012). For example, it is important that each statement only covers one issue, so it may be necessary to split some statements into two parts, this will help to ensure that each point is clear and succinct (Stenner & Watts 2012). If changes are made, it is important that the meaning of the statement remains intact (Brown 1980).

Aside from editing the individual statements, it is also important to consider the Q-set as a whole, to ensure that the range of statements is balanced, and that the participants will be able to fully express their viewpoint through the sorting process. As Brown (1980) argues, good statement design ensures both clarity and balance; the concourse should represent clearly and succinctly the main aspects of what is going on. One way of ensuring balance is to sort the statements into some sort of logical emergent categories or themes. Some researchers argue that such categories, or themes, should be established before the Q-set is generated, so that the researcher can slot statements into each particular category as they are generated in order to achieve a symmetrical, or structured, Q-set (Stenner & Watts 2012). This method is particularly attractive to researchers who are more familiar with quantitative methods (Brown 1980). However, most Q advocates prefer to use an unstructured approach as it does not constrain the participants or become unduly biased by the researcher's point of view (Stenner & Watts 2012). An additional advantage of the unstructured approach is that it aligns better with indigenous research methodologies, as it allows the participants to freely express their views during the focus groups without being directed toward particular outcomes.

The generation of the Q-set for this study included two separate focus groups, and extensive reading of background literature. This process generated 101 statements, 87 of which came from the focus groups. Due to the large number of statements collected, and a substantial amount of

duplication, sorting and editing was required to ensure that the Q set was clear and succinct, while still ensuring that various views were adequately represented in the Q-set. The final number of statements chosen was 35. While this is not a large Q-set, the editing process has ensured that the concourse has been fully covered yet the statements remain true to the research question, and have not conflated different aspects of the realm of enquiry. Participants were also asked to add statements if they felt it necessary to fully express their views on the topic, and none did. The final set of statements focus on revealing the definition or understanding of Māori political agency by asking how participants feel about their ability to have an influence in the political realm.

The design of the Q-set is only the beginning of the research, not the research proper, therefore it is important not to presuppose any particular meaning of the statement items in advance (Stenner & Watts 2012). The meaning is generated during the sorting of the statements, when the participants infuse their viewpoints upon the set of items during this sorting process (Ibid). Brown (1980) also emphasises that at this point, the Q sample is only the first indication of what the concourse is made up of, and this is likely to change throughout the course of the study.

In order to gain meaningful data from the Q-set, it is useful to consider the types of participants who will take part in the next stage of the process – the Q-sort. The participants who undertake the Q-sort are referred to as the P-set. Brown (1980) argues that it is helpful to choose individuals for the P-set who are theoretically saturated in some way. In other words, participants can represent a range of views, but it is particularly useful if they feel something toward the issue. According to Brown (1980) the range of participants should be balanced; where possible, participants should be chosen that are interested in the issue for different reasons. Stenner et, al. (2007) make a case for being flexible in the selection of participants and argue that a specific selection of people can be chosen to represent the polarised views on a given topic.

It is appropriate to emphasise at this point that the idea of a Q-method study is not to gain a population wide view on a particular issue – rather, it is to gain an understanding of the full range of views on the subject and where the participants fit within this concourse (Brown 1980). Stephenson argued that gaining access to a wide range of viewpoints was more important than making claims about the frequency of occurrence of particular viewpoints across the entire population (Cited in: Stenner et al. 2007). This is what differentiates Q from R type research methodologies – participants in a Q-method study are not regarded as representatives of a wider population whose views can be extrapolated to represent the population wide view. For the purposes of this study, the demographic in question is quite narrow to begin with, as the ethnicity and geographical location are fixed. A variety of views should, however, be represented by

accessing different groups, and by using a snowballing technique¹⁵. Brown (1980) argues that in most cases a P-set of forty to sixty individuals will be more than adequate, however Stephenson (1953) showed that Q studies could be completed with as little as one participant and still produce meaningful data. For most Q-method studies though, it is important that the factors uncovered through the Q-sort process have four or five individuals representing each one of them (Brown 1980).

Once the participants (the P-set) are identified, their task is to produce the Q-sorts by ranking the statements into a preferred order according to some instruction they are given (such as most agree with, to least agree with). This produces the data required for factor analysis. Before the participants rank the statements, a choice must be made between free or fixed distribution for the ranking process. Free distribution allows the participants to rank the items anywhere they like on a spectrum of most preferred to least preferred while giving each statement a score (from -4 to +4 for example). There is no requirement with free distribution to assign a set number of statements to each place on the spectrum. Fixed or forced distribution, however, requires participants to place a set number of items into each place on the spectrum. The result in this case is a matrix, which takes the shape of an inverted pyramid. While free distribution has the advantage of not constraining the participants, the occurrence of errors is more frequent with participants being more likely to score one statement twice and miss another. Brown (1980) argues that many Q-method researchers prefer forced distribution, because it enables such errors to be identified and corrected. While there is some debate that forced distribution may constrain the participants, Brown (1980) argues that the information required is contained in the ordering of the statements rather than in the distribution of them. This study uses forced distribution to minimise the possibility of ranking errors. The forced choice frequency distribution is illustrated in figure 1 below.

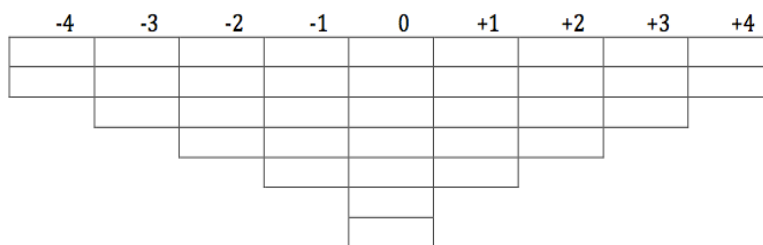


Figure 1

¹⁵ For a more in depth discussion on recruitment and sampling, refer to the ‘Sampling, recruitment, and ethics’ section of this chapter.

According to Brown (1980) it is also useful to interview the respondents once they have completed the Q-sort to gain a deeper understanding of why they have ranked the statements in the way they have. Interviews enrich the data, and lead to a more nuanced understanding of the various points of view, which differentiates Q-method from other methodologies. In addition to asking questions about the ranking, it is also beneficial to gather demographic information, which can help in the factor analysis process. This study asked participants their age, if they identify with a particular iwi or hapū¹⁶ (and if so which one), which electoral roll they are on, and if they voted in the last general election. As explained in the next section, this data becomes useful when deciding which factors to isolate, and which Q-sorts to bring into focus – this is a unique feature of Q-methodology, because it allows a degree of subjectivity to be added to the process (Stenner & Watts 2012).

Analysing and Interpreting Q-method Data

Once the statements are ranked and the Q-sorts entered into Q software, they are subjected to correlation and factor analysis. This is when, according to Stephenson (1953), the data starts to take on some meaning. It is at this point that Q-method allows the researcher to use a degree of subjectivity in the way of cues and hunches, to decide what factors to draw attention to, and from what perspective to view the data. Rotating the factors gives a clearer picture of the areas of common understanding, as well as areas of difference. The interpretation of this data forms the basis of hypotheses or theories of the topic in question – in this case, what Māori political agency is from a Māori perspective, and what the barriers to achieving it might be.

The first step in the data analysis process is the production of a correlation matrix. The correlation matrix explains the relationships between the Q-sorts (Stenner & Watts 2012). It takes into account all of the Q-sorts in their entirety, and measures the similarities and differences between them. Those relationships with a correlation score closer to 1, have responded more similarly with each other than those with a lower score. It is also important at this point to take note of strong non-correlations of Q-sorts as well as individual statements that show the most varied responses (Brown 1980; Stenner & Watts 2012). According to Brown (1980) statements with the most varied responses tell the researcher the most – they take on meaning because of their significance in the Q-sort. The correlation matrix shows how many different ways the statements are organised, however, at this point it is indeterminate how many factors there will be until after the factor analysis stage is completed (Stenner & Watts 2012).

Q-method software takes the data from the correlation matrix, looks for areas of common meaning, and isolates them by performing a centroid factor analysis. According to Stenner and

¹⁶ Hapū commonly refers to a political grouping, or sub-tribe. Iwi is a larger tribal group, or collection of hapū.

Watts (2012) all Q-method software programs use this factor extraction technique due to its ability to allow data exploration. By identifying and isolating groups of commonality, or patterns of similarity, the data becomes more manageable – this is known as a data reduction technique because there are far fewer factors than there are Q sorts in the group (Stenner & Watts 2012). The process works by extracting one factor at a time, starting with the most significant; that is, the areas of greatest commonality are isolated first. Once factor one is identified and the data extracted, the left over data forms a residual correlation matrix. The same process is applied to this data, and so on, until no commonalities remain and no more factors can be identified (Ibid). The Q-methodological factors that result from this process highlight the key viewpoints held within the participant group.

While it is not necessary to use every factor identified through the factor extraction process, it is important to consider how many factors to work with. According to Stenner and Watts (2012) the most common way to identify which factors carry the most significance is to use eigenvalues (EVs) – these indicate the strength and potential explanatory power of a factor. Stenner and Watts (2012) argue that it is only necessary to retain factors that have an EV of greater than 1.00. However, Brown (1980) argues that in his experience as a Q-method researcher, seven is the ideal number of factors to work with. Another suggestion by Stenner and Watts (2012) is to extract one factor per 6-8 participants, and a further suggestion from Brown (1980), is to extract any factors that have two or more Q-sorts that align themselves significantly with those factors. These various arguments demonstrate that there are no set rules when deciding how many factors to choose. Stenner and Watts (2012) recommend that the decision is guided by the data, and what story the Q-sorts tell. The most important thing is to provide a clear explanation as to which method was chosen, and why (Dziopa & Ahern 2011).

Once the factors are chosen, they can be rotated in order to more clearly illustrate the relationships between the viewpoints that the factors represent (Stenner & Watts 2012). As Brown (1980) argues, it is during the factor analysis that the data starts to paint a picture about any prior hypothesis and educates the researcher. The factors are graphed, or mapped, to enable the researcher to visualize the relationships between the Q-sorts and the factors. According to Stenner and Watts (2012) factor rotation is best understood as a spatial concept. Each factor represents a dimension of a space; for example, if there are two factors being mapped, one of those factors will occupy the x-axis, and one will occupy the y-axis. Each combination of spatial coordinates represents a unique viewpoint that may be adopted by an individual in a Q-sort (Ibid). While the Q-sorts move in relation to the factors, during factor rotation they do not move in relation to each other; the number of degrees between the various relationships is unaltered by the rotation, because Q-method programs use an orthogonal rotation system (Ibid).

There are two methods of factor rotation that can be used in Q-method – varimax rotation, and rotation by hand – there are advantages to both. Varimax rotation operates statistically and maximizes the amount of study variance by ensuring that each Q-sort has a high factor loading in relation to only one of the study factors (Stenner & Watts 2012). However, because it operates statistically and not subjectively, it cannot bring into significance Q-sorts that the researcher may want to isolate for particular reasons – it can only work on the data alone. Varimax rotation should not be discounted completely however, and as Brown (1980) argues, is a very good starting point in the data analysis because it maximises the amount of variance.

If the factors are rotated by hand, the researcher can choose which ones to draw attention to by using the visual data of the Q-sort and factor loadings, or by prior background knowledge of participants (Stenner & Watts 2012). As Brown (1980), and Stenner and Watts (2012) explain, there may be a participant, or participants, that are likely to have a different viewpoint due to their position of authority, their occupation, or their age or ethnicity. By using hand rotation, it is possible to isolate Q-sorts and observe how they load against particular factors and how they compare with other Q-sorts. Background knowledge gained through the collection of demographic information is useful at this point as it brings a subjective dimension to the data (Brown 1980). Q-method software highlights the statistical relationships between points, but as Brown (1980) points out, it is up to the researcher to use judgement and theory of society to interpret the data and give it meaning. This is one of the unique features of Q-methodology.

Deciding which particular factors are significant enough to bring into focus is where the subjective dimension of Q-methodology features most significantly. Stephenson (1953) believed it was important that the researcher could take into account aspects such as the characteristics of the respondents and the experimental settings. Factor analysis can therefore take into account cues and hunches and factor them into the rotations (Brown 1980). The researcher can look at the data, see a pattern, and ask why such a pattern exists; more specifically, they can ask why particular patterns are produced by certain groups of respondents (Ibid). The consensus among advocates of Q-method is that it should be obvious which factors are important. This is where Pierce's theory of abduction is useful. For Pierce (1931) the theory of abduction arose from his desire to prove that more often than not, guesses are correct. The theory of abduction does not seek explanations from general principles to consequences, or from observations to generalisations, but rather, from effects to causes (Brown & Robyn 2004).

While the software does much of the work for the researcher, the subjective aspect is one of the defining features of Q-methodology. To maximize this feature it is vital to explain why certain factors have been isolated. That is, if they have been isolated due to their statistical significance,

or because Q-sorts of particular interest to the researcher have loaded significantly on the factor or factors chosen to highlight (Dziopa & Ahern 2011).

Advantages, Limitations, and Cautions of the Q-method Approach

Proponents of Q-methodology argue that it is the most robust way to maximise the expression of subjectivity. There are however numerous other advantages for the use of Q-methodology across many research disciplines: Q-method can make sense of a large number of opinions or points of view; the polarisation of issues is avoided because a more nuanced understanding of the topic at hand is gained, due to the focus on areas of agreement as well as difference; Q-method avoids the framing of issues in ways that simply mirror the problem; a Q method study bridges the gap between the theoretical literature and common understandings of a topic; the researcher has the ability to add in a subjective dimension during factor analysis by using background information and using the logic of abduction; and notably for this study, Q-methodology is participant driven, not researcher or hypothesis driven, which is an important methodological consideration when working with indigenous groups. There are of course critiques of Q-method as well as limitations for its application, but most of these can be overcome. Q-method studies use a comparatively small sample size compared to quantitative research methods; the data is not generalisable; one criticism is that participant choice is constrained by having a finite set of items from which to express their point of view; and the consistency of Q-method study results has also been questioned. In addition, there are some key considerations to be aware of, which relate to the analysis of data. Due to the subjective nature of Q-methodology, there are many variations in the way that data is managed and interpreted by the researcher, and therefore, it is important to explain to the reader how and why certain decisions are made during the process. Provided that these processes are explained clearly within the analysis of the data, and that the limitations of the study are acknowledged, the advantages of using Q-methodology for this thesis significantly outweigh any limitations. The rest of this section explains the advantages and limitations of Q-method in more detail, along with the justifications for its use in this study.

Q-method is particularly useful in the fields of social and political science because of its ability to draw attention to different points of view on a given topic. This is advantageous for areas of study that are complex in nature, or when issues are characterised by polarised views. The use of Q-method can give a more nuanced understanding of differing points of view, rather than constraining the argument or topic in question into a two dimensional discussion (van Eeten 2001). One example of Q-methodology being used in this way is van Eeten's analysis of the Netherlands airport extension issue; a highly controversial public policy issue that had reached

an impasse among stakeholders. Uncertain, polarised or complex issues present such difficulties for policy analysts that the result is often an impasse. This is largely due to the methods that are employed to try and create a solution that everyone agrees on (van Eeten 2001). Van Eeten (2001) points out that traditional policy analysis works by framing issues in a way that explores polar opposites through questions that ask: what the advantages and disadvantages, costs and benefits, and challenges and risks are. This leads to the production of polar opposite statements that simply mirror the problem (Ibid). Q-methodology is useful in these situations by highlighting areas of agreement as well as disagreement. The broad range of discourses on the issue, and the analysis of them using Q-method, can lead to an 'action-forcing' re-conception of the controversial issue at hand. In van Eeten's study, it became apparent that there were in fact many issues that opponents agreed on, but as the issue had become more polarised in nature these commonalities were lost in the process. The Q-method study recast the issue and gave policy makers renewed hope that there was in fact a way through the impasse (van Eeten 2001).

Another advantage of Q-methodology is the ability to bridge the gap between the theoretical literature and the public's understanding of particular concepts. Policy direction is often driven by underlying theoretical concepts; however, policy makers' and citizens' understandings of those concepts may be at odds with each other. In addition, those understandings may alter over time and place. A study of conceptions of citizenship by Theiss-Morse (1993) illustrates this point. The author argues that while there are many theories about what good citizenship encompasses, very little is understood about how citizens themselves actually view their responsibilities. The Q-method study showed that there is a marked variation in how people define the participatory responsibilities of a good citizen – and that these variations correlate significantly with particular types of political behaviour. Without the use of Q-methodology to identify particular factors and shared belief systems, it would be very difficult to draw these conclusions.

The central tenet of Q-methodology is its subjective dimension, in other words, the participants' own meanings, points of view, understandings, and opinions about a certain topic. The process of identifying those opinions and points of view is done in such a way that makes no prior assumptions about the significance of any particular account (Stenner & Watts 2012). This feature is consistent with a Kaupapa Māori approach of exploring meaning through interaction with the participants. What makes Q-methodology unique is that it does not need to start with a hypothesis because of its ability to give meaning to a large amount of data, which may indeed produce a hypothesis. Stephenson argued that it is better though to bring a 'fresh and puzzled attitude ... believing nothing, and expecting little' (Stephenson 1953 p.152). Stenner and Watts also conclude that in order to produce a meaningful Q-method study, you should stick to a logic of 'exploration and discovery' (Stenner & Watts 2012, p.96). The advantage of this approach, is that

the use of abductive reasoning uses a bottom-up rather than a top-down logic (Stenner & Watts 2012). Abductive reasoning requires the researcher to interact with the data in order to give it meaning. While Q-method software uses tools such as varimax rotation to highlight the factors that are statistically significant, as previously argued, manual rotation allows the researcher to use prior information about the subjects to interpret clues as to why the data may be presenting itself in particular ways (Stenner & Watts 2012). The ability for the researcher to add in a degree of subjectivity during the factor analysis process is unique to Q-methodology, and is vital for giving meaning and richness to the data. This type of interaction with the data is not common in other methodologies, and in fact is discouraged because in many cases other methodological approaches would question the integrity of the data if researcher subjectivity were involved. The subjectivity is however a key feature of this methodological approach, and one that must be embraced rather than avoided.

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, one of the most notable advantages of Q-methodology for this study is the ability to place the participants at the centre of the research. When working with tangata whenua¹⁷, it is important to involve participants in the research design – in this case, the involvement was achieved through the use of focus groups that allowed the free expression of multiple points of view, and by ensuring that those views make up the bulk of the Q-set. Even when following ethical guidelines, indigenous communities may still feel like they are the objects of research (Smith 2012), so it is important as the researcher to allow the participants to overcome this through the ability to freely express their views in this forum. The use of focus groups at the initial stage of the data gathering process, and the translation of the focus group data into the Q-set statements ensures that the research places the Māori voice at the heart of the study, and enables the participants to identify more easily with the content of the statements.

One criticism of Q-methodology is that it constrains participants because they are automatically limited by the fact that they are responding to a predetermined range of statements (Cross 2005) – this view argues that only limited viewpoints can be expressed. As Stenner et al. (2007) argue, in a Q-method study, participants actively operate on a set of items from a self-referential point of view. In other words, they are expressing what they understand or believe from their own perspective. In addition, human responses are always limited by various constraints (Ibid). In a Q-method study, there is not an infinite number of views about a certain topic, but rather, a circumscribed range of views – the purpose of a Q-method study is to identify and describe that range of views (Ibid). In addition, as previously argued, each statement on their own does not reveal much, nor does the placement of any single statement allow the participant

¹⁷ Tangata whenua refers to people of the land.

to share much about their point of view. It is the order of the complete set of statements in relation to each other that reveals the meaning (Brown 1980; Stenner et al. 2007). Therefore, the design of the Q-set plays an important part in ability of the participant to feel that their point of view can be expressed. By using focus groups in conjunction with the theoretical and empirical literature to design the Q-set, and by perusing the statements thoroughly, this ensures that the concourse is adequately represented, and allows the participants to relate to the statements and therefore feel that they have been able to fully express their point of view. In addition, the final selection of statements can be subjected to a 'test-sort' prior to the research proper, to ensure the robustness of the Q-set. In this research, each participant was asked if they had been adequately able to express their views, through both the sorting of the statements, and the discussion afterwards.

A further criticism of Q-methodology is that when studies are repeated on individuals they often do not yield the same results. However, as Stainton-Rogers (1991) argues, in social psychology, this is entirely acceptable as individuals would not be expected to necessarily express the same views on separate occasions – at any given time there are a range of views about a given topic. This relates to the constructivist view that human experience is shaped by cultural norms and practices (Stenner et al. 2007). As humans have a role in shaping this experience, the range of views on a given topic would naturally alter over time and space (Ibid). It would therefore be unlikely that the same individual would express exactly the same views over time. Brown (1980) however, is confident in the ability of Q-method to yield similar results over time, and claims Q-method studies conducted under the same conditions are able to reveal similar results over a one year period.

Those not familiar with Q-methodology also point out that due to the small sample sizes of Q-method studies, the data is not generalisable. While this aspect of Q-method is often seen as a critique, the idea of a Q-method study is not to try and establish a population wide view on a given topic (Stenner et al. 2007). Rather, it is to draw conclusions about the relationships between various points of view, thus highlighting shared ways of thinking about that topic (Brown 1980; Stenner et al. 2007). However, if the goal is to establish a population wide point of view, the data from a Q-study may be used as a starting point to undertake further studies. Alternatively, Q-method can be used in conjunction with other methodologies. The Theiss-Morse (1993) citizenship study, for example, combined a Q-method approach with a wider survey type study. The Q-method study established the common or shared viewpoints, and the survey then measured the effect of those various viewpoints on citizen behaviour. What is most important for a Q-method study is that the researcher does not claim that the results tell a bigger story than they actually do.

Another important consideration for Q-method researchers is having a clear understanding of Stephenson's original methodological approach, and either staying true to that method, or clearly explaining any deviation from it. Dziopa and Ahern (2011) conducted a comparative analysis on Q-method studies and found many inconsistencies in the application of Stephenson's original techniques. There is room in a Q-method study for some variation, however it is important as a researcher to explain why such variations in technique are being used. Given that a Q-method study relies on the abductive interpretation of data by the researcher, it is also important to explain during the analysis stage of the project, the rationale behind certain choices. Thorough explanations throughout the process will ensure that the reader understands the thought processes of the researcher. In addition, the integrity of the research will be upheld if the researcher can demonstrate a sound understanding of the Q-method approach.

Whilst there are some criticisms and limitations of Q-methodology, these are easily defended or overcome. The advantages of the Q-technique however, far outweigh the limitations in this case. The ability of a Q-method study to identify shared coherent clusters of meaning from large amounts of data, along with the ability to place the participant at the centre of the research, to give them a voice, makes Q-methodology an invaluable tool for the type of research being undertaken in this thesis. Pure statistical modelling cannot adequately explain the links between theory and practice, and traditional quantitative methods do not adequately identify shared perceptions or points of view. Therefore, Q-method is more suited than other methodologies to uncover what it means for Māori to have a sense of political agency, and what some of the impediments might be for them to be able to act upon the political world.

Sampling, Recruitment, and Ethics

Due to the nature of Q-method studies, the sampling method is rather more constrained than larger 'N' type studies. The aim of the study is not to gain a population wide view on the topic in question, rather, it is to discover shared points of view on a topic that, to date, has received very little attention from the academic community. This section will explain the sampling and recruitment methods for both the focus groups, and for the P-set participants. In addition, the ethics considerations will be discussed. When working with tangata whenua, this is an important part of process – the methods of study and recruitment must be carefully considered.

The nature of the project required an application to the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee. The committee has reviewed and approved the methods and protocols put in place. This research will, of course, involve interviewing and studying the attitudes of Māori. Although I am not tangata whenua, I am of Australian Aboriginal descent. In addition, my supervisor Lindsey Te Ata O Tu MacDonald is Ngāi Tahu, from Ngai Tuahuriri, the Iwi of the University of Canterbury.

The Ngāi Tahu Research Centre and Māori Student Services have also been fully consulted about the project and are happy with the protocols in place¹⁸.

Māori students were recruited from my own, and my supervisor's contacts at the School of Māori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Canterbury, and through Māori Student Services. For those scholars who are familiar with large 'N' studies this approach to sampling may seem like a very poor methodology. However, as argued above, Q-method is not an attempt to get a representative sample, but rather to investigate the subjective opinions of a particular group, in the hope that it may shed light on conceptual difficulties within the subject under study. It is, in a sense, the empirical application of analytical philosophy's attempts to theorise everyday language. Māori Student Services and the School of Māori and Indigenous Studies assisted in organising two focus groups to contribute to the creation of the statements for the Q-set. The first group consisted of five young professional Māori, and the second group consisted of three Māori students.

As previously argued, the use of focus groups to help with the formation of the Q-set places the participant at the centre of the research design. Moreover, Chilisa (2012) argues that as a research tool, the focus group aligns favourably with real communication systems in natural settings. It mirrors situations where a circle is used to bring a number of people together for a discussion. The key to making the focus group align with indigenous methodologies is to avoid the possibility of one or two members dominating the discussion (a frequent feature of Western based focus groups) by ensuring that the group shares a mutual respect for each participant's contribution, which allows everyone to be comfortable in sharing their views (Ibid). The focus groups in this case were managed in different ways to ensure this. The first group consisted of young Māori professionals who work together. As they were peers, this meant that there was already mutual respect between them, and the conversation flowed freely with everyone being able to contribute relatively equally. The second focus group was smaller, and only two of the participants knew each other, however there was still a high level of mutual respect for each other's views, and little intervention was required from the interviewer to ensure equal participation.

The recruitment for the P-set, or participants to rank the Q-set statements, was carried out by inviting the focus group candidates to participate and by advertising in the Māori student e-newsletter 'Te Oho Akoranga'. In addition, the snowballing technique was used through existing contacts at the School of Māori and Indigenous Studies. The snowballing technique is regarded as advantageous because it uses social networks, or natural interactional units to recruit

¹⁸ See appendices for letters of approval from Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, and University of Canterbury Māori Student Services.

participants (Biernacki 1981). It has also proven to be successful in reaching hard to access populations, such as the politically disengaged, and marginalised groups (Biernacki 1981; Devere 1993; Sheerin 2007). Indigenous groups are often hard to access for this type of study due to a legacy of being over-researched (Martin 2003). As argued previously in this chapter, earlier research stemmed from colonial curiosity, while notions of sympathy and a desire to 'fix' the indigenous problem underpinned later research. This has not only led to the existence of feelings of mistrust, as argued earlier in the chapter, but also to 'participant fatigue' (Martin 2003; Smith 1999). Hence, whilst the snowball technique has sometimes been criticised for the lack of diversity in participants, in this case it is necessary to enable sufficient numbers of participants to be reached. Moreover, the intention of a Q-method study is not to provide a population wide point of view. There only needs to be a sufficient diversity within the participant group to represent several points of view.

An important aspect of indigenous methodologies is the use of face-to-face research techniques; this is what Māori refer to as 'kanohi ki te kanohi'. By using one-on-one interviews for the Q-sort process, a level of trust and understanding can be achieved that is not possible through non-contact survey techniques. This ensures that the research stays within indigenous research methodological guidelines. Both the focus groups and individual Q-sort interviews were conducted without the use of audio or audio-visual equipment. Instead, for the focus groups, notes were taken in the form of rough statements on poster paper so that the participants could see exactly what was being recorded. The participants were also provided with copies of the consolidated statements. For the individual interviews, additional notes were taken during the informal questioning after the Q-sort had been completed, and the participants were also given the opportunity to read these notes. An information sheet and consent form were given to the focus group participants, and the individual Q-sort/interviewees¹⁹.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis is to explore the feelings of Māori toward the world of politics, in particular their sense of agency, by using Q-methodology in conjunction with a Kaupapa Māori approach. Q-methodology is designed to understand subjective points of view, so it is very well suited to this task. Q-methodology works particularly well for studies where there is a wide range of views on a given topic. Views are expressed as statements, and participants rank those statements according to which they agree with the most, through to which they agree with the least. Quantitative analysis tools are then used to enable the researcher to understand subjective

¹⁹ See appendices 1-4

viewpoints by identifying areas of shared meaning. These shared meanings are expressed as factors – thus, each factor represents a particular point of view about the topic in question.

This research is informed by Kaupapa Māori research methodologies, and Q-method was chosen because of its alignment with those methodologies. As Smith (1999) argues, it is important that the research is conducted *with* Māori, rather than *about* Māori, and that there is some benefit to those involved. Group work and face-to-face communication have enabled participants to be involved in the research design, by contributing to the production of the majority of the statements for the Q-set through unstructured focus groups, in which they were able to freely express their views. Therefore, when the participants participate in the Q-sort process, they are familiar with the language and themes in question, and the statements have more meaning to them. In addition, Q-methodology does not require a preconceived hypothesis, rather, the object of a Q-method study is to form some theory about what the data reveals.

Aside from the advantages of using Q-methodology when working with indigenous groups, there are many other advantages to using this technique. It is well suited to research that explores complex issues, issues with a wide range of views, or issues that are polarising in nature. It is ideal for maximising the expression of subjectivity and making sense of a large number of opinions (Brown 1980; Stenner & Watts 2012; Stephenson 1953). A distinguishing feature of Q-methodology is that, during the factor analysis stage, a degree of subjectivity may be used to make decisions about which data to draw attention to. This separates Q-methodology from other methodological approaches, and enables the researcher to use the logic of abduction to make sense of the data.

While there are some limitations to the Q-method approach, these can be overcome. Providing the Q-set is well designed, participants should be able to fully express themselves by sorting a fixed number of items. In addition, Stenner et al. (2007) point out that human responses are limited by various constraints, therefore there will never be an infinite number of views about a certain topic, but rather, a circumscribed range of views. The purpose of a Q-method study is to identify and describe that range of views, not to gain a population wide view on a topic. What is most important for this study is the alignment of Q-methodology with indigenous research approaches, and Kaupapa Māori research. By using Q-methodology, the subjectivity of Māori political agency can be objectively quantified, and a deeper understanding of what Māori aspire to as political agents can be gained.

Chapter Four: Data

Introduction

The following two chapters present the research findings of the Q-method study on Māori political agency. An important aspect of a Q-method study is the transition from statements, to Q-sorts, to factors, and then to the interpretation of those factors. The first three of these transitions will be explained in detail in this chapter, including: the outcomes of the focus groups and subsequent generation of the Q-set statements; how the data was extracted from the statement Q-sorts; the factors identified from the data through the Q-method process; and the rationale behind why these factors have been isolated. An interpretation and analysis of the factors will be presented in the next chapter, along with a discussion of the findings in relation to the agency and efficacy literature and Māori political attitude studies discussed in Chapters One and Two.

Obtaining the Q-set statements – Focus Groups

As previously discussed in the methodology chapter, the formation of the Q-set can be done in a number of ways. Theoretical literature, for example, can be used as a starting point to establish key aspects of the concourse from which self-referential statements can be created. However to ensure that the concourse is fully covered, it is more effective to engage in organic conversations with a range of participants (Stenner et al. 2007); focus groups are the most useful format for this. Two focus groups were held on the campus of the University of Canterbury involving Māori students and staff. From these group sessions some preliminary themes, or areas of interest emerged, but more importantly, the statements produced from the focus groups formed the basis of the Q-set.

Focus group one:

The first focus group involved a group of five professional Māori. The five individuals work together so were familiar with each other and comfortable sharing their points of view. After introducing myself and explaining the purpose of the research, the key terms used in the study were explained as broadly as possible: agency, and politics. The participants were asked to think about politics in the broadest possible context and to consider a wide range of political entities, for example: community boards; parliament; government; school boards of trustees; iwi, hapū or whānau groups; local or city council; district health boards; and other community organisations and groups. The working definition of agency for this study was given to the participants: ‘the ability for citizens to act purposefully as part of the political community in which they live, and to have an impact on that system if they choose to do so’. To further explain the concept of agency

some more definitions of agency were provided: having autonomy; being self-governing; having control over your own life; having the power to act and have an effect on the social world; a collective ability to enact social change; the ability to act upon political and civic realms; having the intent to influence an outcome; having the power to originate actions for a given purpose; and rangatiratanga.

The consent forms were then completed, and the group was asked to give their views on the key research questions: What do Māori aspire to as political agents? What are the barriers to these aspirations? Do you feel that you have the capacity to make an impact on politics if you choose to be involved? The questions and discussion focused on the current political situation for Māori and how it is understood, so that statements could be focused on one aspect of the problem. As discussed in the methodology section, it is better to concentrate on either how a problem is defined or understood, or what should be done about it– rather than conflating both aspects into one Q-study (Curt 1994; Stenner & Watts 2012).

The brainstorming session began with the following starter question:

“Thinking about the broadest context of politics – to what extent do you feel like you can have an influence in these groups?” Why/why not? What are the barriers?”

The atmosphere was open and relaxed and the participants were very willing to share their points of view and each participant contributed to the conversation. Many issues about politics and the ability to have an influence in the political realm were raised. These fell broadly into the following key areas: Iwi politics, young people’s interest in politics, identity, and the responsibilities that come with being Māori.

Iwi (tribal) politics emerged as a strong theme and several statements²⁰ materialised from this conversation. The group suggested that *“agency seems to be constrained by tradition – even if you want to act or vote in one way as an individual, you are influenced by your whānau/hapu to vote with the collective.”* In addition, some participants indicated that *“you have to have certain attributes to move up in the political world”*, and *“elders have more influence than younger people.”* They stated: *“It feels like my voice is still important but there seems to be gatekeeping from Kaumātua”*, and in addition: *“it still feels like women have less of a say in politics.”* The group did not indicate that they are disinterested in iwi politics, but rather, that they feel that it is difficult, if not impossible for younger generations to make a difference in this particular political realm: for example, several participants stated that unless you are physically present at a Marae, it is difficult feel involved and have your point of view heard. They explained: *“there are new ways that young people can connect with their Marae, but this is not recognized in the same way as physical presence at the Marae.”*

²⁰ Refer to the appendices for a full list of statements generated from the focus groups.

Interest in things political: there was discussion about interest in political matters in general, and how young Māori feel about politics and things political overall. The participants indicated that: *“young people have to understand the relevance to ‘me’ to want to act.”* In addition they suggested that there was an age barrier: *“It is harder to understand the issues when you are younger because of the way they are framed”, “the way that political issues are framed seems more for an older audience.”* They also said, that *“the media make only the controversial issues seem important – especially for young people as this is how they are influenced.”* The group believe that these factors significantly effect young peoples’ engagement in politics. They also suggested, however, that when politicians engage directly with young people that it is positive, and that young people become more interested in issues when this type of direct engagement occurs.

The responsibilities that come with being Māori: Another strong theme emerged that being Māori carries with it a sense of responsibility to engage in the political realm. One participant indicated that simply by being Māori, it makes you political. The following statements reflect this sentiment: *“It is important for Māori to have a political view.” “As a Māori you are expected to know not just about things Māori, but also about Māori politics”,* and *“it doesn’t seem fair that Māori have to know all about things political.”*

The issue of **identity** also emerged in other comments related to **national politics and voting:** The group shared many views on the issue of identity in relation to voting and the electoral system. These views were diverse, but there was a common sense of being ‘torn’ or ‘conflicted’ by having to make certain choices such as whether to register on the Māori roll or the general roll. Statements that reflected this were: *“Voting makes me feel conflicted”, “being on the Māori roll means you are torn – I want to be on the Māori roll, but feel less connected to my representative because the electorates are so big”,* and *“there is more of a connection with my local MP, but I want to stay on the Māori roll because I am Māori.”* They also stated that: *“The Māori vote seems like a wasted vote – but I am on the Māori roll to keep the Kaupapa Māori²¹”,* and that *“it is hard to identify with a political party.”*

Representation: The comments that the group made about identity also revealed that they have doubts about the reliability of representation of Māori in their national electorate. For example, they stated: *“It feels like the existing system cannot work for the collective – i.e., the Māori vote gets split”, “it still feels like the Western system is constraining for Māori politics”* and *“it is hard to strike a balance between Māori autonomy and Western institutions.”* They also indicated that: *“it is more relevant to Māori when the concerns affect the collective and not just individuals”,* and that *“it would be good to have an upper and lower house, or some dual system in parliament so that there*

²¹ Kaupapa Māori often refers to Māori knowledge, or ways of knowing, however it also refers to the wider idea of “collective vision, aspiration and purpose of Māori communities” (Rangahau 2014, p1).

can be a proper partnership.” Conversely they also noted: *“it is good that there is more visible representation for Māori in Parliament.”* The way that the Māori electorates are formulated was also identified as an issue with participants expressing that the size of the Māori electorates affect the ability of the representative to engage with his or her constituents, especially in the South Island.

Focus group two:

The second focus group involved three young Māori students from the University of Canterbury. The same format was followed as focus group one, and while the conversation did not flow quite as freely as it did in the first focus group, many ideas were still forthcoming. Moreover, some additional themes emerged during this second focus group.

Having a voice in politics depends on the political forum: The first theme that emerged was that: *“I do feel like I can have a say in things political”* and, *“I feel like my voice is heard.”* The participants suggested, however, that it depended on the forum and the situation. First, they stated that: *“you really need to be actively involved in certain forums to have a say”*, and that *“networks are important to being able to have a say in decisions – a lot depends on who you know.”* In addition, *“you really have to have some desire to be involved and have a say.”*

The participants also indicated that their voice was more important in their own community and family groups, *“I feel like I have more of a voice within my own group and that I am listened to – in my Iwi/Hapū for example”*, *“it feels like my voice is more important to my own tribe”*, and *“as a tribal member I usually have a vote on issues and this makes me feel like I am making a difference.”* In contrast, they suggested that their voice was not necessarily heard in larger forums, such as pan-tribal groups or meetings: *“It is difficult at pan-tribal forums to have my voice heard”*, *“pan-tribal forums are usually only interested in the opinions of experts and kaumātua – it is difficult to feel like your voice is important”*, and *“in the tribal forum you have a vote, but at a pan-tribal hui, for example about water rights, experts and kaumātua seemed to have all the power and it is more difficult for everyday people to have a say.”* One of the group members also suggested that their voice makes more of a difference the more local the forum. In relation to national politics, they indicated that while their electoral representative might listen to them, that their representative would not necessarily be heard in parliament: *“my voice gets heard but only to a certain level – my MP might listen, but I don’t feel like that will make a difference to anything.”* The participants agreed that they were more likely to get involved at a local level, but the wider the political forum becomes the more apolitical they become as individuals: *“I think there are opportunities to get involved in things political at a local level”*, and *“the wider the group is that I am involved in, the more apolitical I would become.”* They also stated: *“It seems like involvement in the community,*

especially when you are young, means that there is more chance of getting involved in things political."

One group member also said: *"Within my group I feel that I have agency, but I still feel like my group is still subordinate [in the wider political context] which denies me a sense of agency."* In addition, they stated that they feel more empowered when they are understood: *"...when political forums (health or school boards, political parties etc) share my world-view"* and stated that *"an understanding of my world-view is important for my voice to be understood"*. Therefore, they surmised: *"a lack of understanding of my world-view and my issues interferes with my sense of agency."*

Representation: A discussion about national politics and the dual roll system also revealed some interesting thoughts. The group indicated that even with Māori seats in parliament, that it still feels like there is an imbalance. They stated: *"it seems like holders of the Māori seats have less of a profile in parliament."* One of the participants also stated that *"while things are getting better for Māori, there is still a long way to go – it still doesn't really feel like a partnership."* The group felt that the dual roll system was still important because *"...it gives a guaranteed voice to Māori", "...it gives you more choice", and "...it allows for more say of common interest."* In addition, *"you can be more strategic with your vote with the dual electoral roll system."*

Interest in politics and voting: The group suggested that in New Zealand *"a lot of people seem to be politically apathetic", "People think voting is unimportant", and "People don't think their vote makes a difference."* However, they indicated that citizens are: *"more likely to become involved in politics when there are issues that are important to the individual or their Hapū or Iwi"*. They mentioned water rights and school closures as such examples: *"Certain issues seem to be a catalyst for involvement in politics for some people, otherwise they probably wouldn't care – like the merging of schools for example."* The issues become a catalyst for becoming involved in politics. They stated that it often feels like: *"there needs to be discontent for people to vote"*. People are also more likely to vote when the competition for a seat is closer.

The issue of non-voting was also raised. One participant stated that for them, *"Non-voting is also a legitimate political action."* The same participant also suggested that *"If I don't vote it doesn't mean I don't care",* and that it should not be assumed that non-voting means that someone is apolitical. Another participant mentioned that *"There should be some sort of 'no-confidence' voting option",* because this would capture people's feelings better than abstaining. The group thought that in general *"Māori do care a lot about political issues which is unique."* They also suggested that *"Policies are important in influencing whether or not I vote."* This extends beyond the individual (excepting maybe tax) to how policies affect their own communities or Iwi/Hapū groups. They stated for example that: *"The concern for issues is not just about me it is about my Hapū and Iwi*

too”, and that “Issues that affect my Hapū or Iwi influence my decision whether to vote, and for who.”

Refining the Concourse – Finalising the Q-set

The two focus groups covered a wide range of topics relating to politics, political agency, and political participation. The key areas that emerged from the discussions give some indication of the general opinions of Māori about politics and political agency, but there were also many variations in those opinions.

The focus groups generated a total of 87 statements, and the addition of 14 statements from the agency and efficacy literature gave a total of 101 statements. There was a high degree of duplication within the statements, which meant that it was possible to consolidate the number of statements. In total 35 final statements were used for the Q-set²². As highlighted in the previous chapter, such editing is important for statement clarity, to check that the concourse has been covered, and to ensure that the participants can fully express their point of view during the Q-sort process (Brown 1980; Stenner & Watts 2012).

The editing process involved grouping the statements into areas of commonality. These areas were: interest in political issues; opportunities to be involved; ability to have an influence; representation; identity; efficacy; and trust. Each statement was then placed into one of these thematic groupings. In several cases, four or five statements could be reduced down to one or two, for example:

Original statements

“My voice is important but it feels like there is gatekeeping from the older generation (eg. Kaumātua).”

“Elders have more influence in the political world than young people.”

“Kaumātua can constrain the ability to make a difference.”

“Elders have more influence in the political world than young people.”

“It is harder to have a say when you are younger.”

Consolidated statement

“The current leaders in certain political forums (eg Iwi) constrain the voice of others.”

During the first few Q-sorts, the participants confirmed that the range of statements was adequate to allow them to express their point of view on the topic, and that the statements were clear and easy to understand²³.

²² See the appendices for a full list of the final statements.

²³ It was noted at this point that statement number 20 was confusing for some: “If I don’t vote it doesn’t mean I don’t care”. The decision was made to change this statement from a negative to a positive: “If I vote it means I care”. This subsequently solved the issue of confusion. Due to the confusion, the three participants that had already completed Q-sorts were contacted and the sort was completed again with the positive statement, so as to maintain the purity of the data when it came time to analyze the factors.

The Q-sort Process – Collecting the Data

As explained in the methodology chapter, the P-set, or participants, were chosen from the original focus groups, from existing contacts, and from snowballing from these initial contacts. A total of 19 sorts were conducted. Students and staff from the University of Canterbury carried out the initial sorts, and further sorts were conducted through referrals from these participants. This process, while seemingly straightforward, proved to be quite a challenge. The timing of the Q-sort interviews coincided with the end of the University teaching year, which meant that fewer students were available to participate in the study. Unlike previous years, the Department of Māori and Indigenous Studies were only offering one paper over the summer break rather than several, resulting in very few Māori students being on campus. With an original goal of 40 Q-sorts, it became necessary to revise this number to 19. While this may seem like too few participants for this type of study, Stephenson (1953) argued that it is possible to conduct Q-method studies with very few, or even one, participant. While Brown (1980) prefers a higher number of sorts, closer to 40, he contends that as a guide you should ensure that you have at least three participants loading on each significant factor. Hence the decision was made to analyse the 19 sorts, with a view to obtain further sorts if deemed necessary once the data was analysed.

As the previous chapter highlighted, it is useful to obtain some demographic information whilst conducting the Q-sort interviews. Each participant was asked their age, iwi, whether they voted in the last general election, and if they are on the Māori electoral roll or the general electoral roll. A note was also made of the gender of each participant. This demographic information became useful during factor analysis, as it showed which participants could be likely to cluster together. In addition to the demographic information, a short interview was conducted after each Q-sort was completed, to find the rationale behind the ordering of the statements, and to allow the participants to express any additional information about their political attitudes and sense of agency. This process also proved to be extremely valuable during the analysis phase, as it gave deeper meaning to the factors identified. Once the Q-sorts were completed, the data was input into PQmethod, and Q-assessor for analysis. During the analysis phase, the Q-assessor website was closed down, therefore the majority of the analysis was conducted using PQmethod.

From Q-sorts, to Factors, to Factor arrays – Identifying the Viewpoints

In order to interpret the factors, the factors were first identified, and a decision made as to how many factors to work with. As discussed in the methodology chapter this is not necessarily a straightforward process and there is no consensus among Q-method experts as to how many factors a researcher should work with. In this regard, each Q-method study is unique. There are some guidelines however. Brown (1980) argues that seven is the ideal number to work with,

although this is also based on his belief that 40 is the ideal number of participants and each factor should have at least four Q-sorts loading against it. A second solution is to extract only factors with an eigenvalue greater than 1.00, as per the Kaiser-Guttman criteria (Kaiser 1991). The initial un-rotated factor matrix contained three factors with an eigenvalue of greater than 1.00, one factor with an eigenvalue of 0.9415, and three further factors with insignificant eigenvalues. An alternative solution suggests extracting any factor where two or more Q-sorts load significantly (Stenner & Watts 2012). According to this method a three-factor solution would also be preferable. Although these methods would suggest a three-factor solution in this case, advocates of Q-methodology, including Stenner and Watts (2012) and Brown (1980), suggest that it is better to extract more factors to begin with, as you can always discard those with little meaning as you go. Stenner and Watts (2012) also point out that rotation may often improve a factor's eigenvalue, therefore it is better to retain more factors at the initial stage, examine them after rotation, and then discard any that are insignificant. After consideration of all of these possible methods, a seven-factor extraction was chosen initially, with a view to reducing the number of factors if required. This enabled the largest amount of variance to be accounted for.

As explained in the methodology chapter, most Q-method software packages use centroid factor analysis to reduce the data and identify sizeable portions of shared meaning – these portions of shared meaning become the factors. The result of the first extraction of seven factors produced an un-rotated factor matrix that accounted for 51% of the study variance. These factors were rotated using the PQmethod software's varimax rotation tool. This tool is especially useful for large data sets, and if the researchers main objective is to discover the majority viewpoints of the group. According to Stenner and Watts (2012), in many cases, the varimax rotation tool provides a perfectly adequate factor rotation solution. What is more, it is often better to start with this method, and then complete further rotations by hand, if deemed necessary (Ibid). It was decided to rotate the seven factors initially, which produced a factor matrix in which four of the seven factors contained two or more significant Q-sort loadings, and accounted for 50% of the study variance. Of the 19 Q-sorts, 16 loaded significantly on one of the four factors, and three confounded on more than one of the factors. A significant loading is deemed to be greater than 0.38 (Stenner & Watts 2012).

At this point, an initial scan of the data revealed that two of the factors, one and two, inter-correlated at 0.5069. This is a significant correlation according to Stenner and Watts (2012), and can indicate that too many factors have been extracted, and that there may be too much commonality between them. For this reason, a further five-factor extraction was undertaken on the original data to compare and contrast with the initial seven-factor extraction. This solution provided fewer factors with significant loadings, and once varimax rotation was applied, only

three significant factors remained, accounting for 45% of the study variance. As it is useful to still consider a larger number of factors in the first instance, the original seven-factor extraction, which once rotated produced four significant factors, was still the preferred option at this point. However, the second five-factor extraction was retained in order to analyse if needed.

The four significant factors, which accounted for 50% of the study variance, each had at least two Q-sorts loading on them after varimax rotation. Factor One accounted for 11% of the total study variance and contained three significant loadings; Factor Two accounted for 14% of the study variance and contained four significant loadings; Factor Three accounted for 9% of the study variance and contained two significant loadings; and Factor Four accounted for 16% of the study variance and contained seven significant loadings. The table below summarises the factor-defining Q-sorts for each factor.

Factor Defining Q-sorts for Four Study Factors

Factor	Q-sort numbers	Total	Cumulative Total
1	1, 10, 13	3	3
2	9, 14, 15, 18	4	7
3	2, 4	2	9
4	3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 17	7	16
Confounding	5, 16, 19	3	19

Table 1

Significant Q-sorts (with a loading of 0.60 or higher) are indicated in **bold type**.

It was decided, that the seven-factor solution provided enough variance once varimax rotation was applied, and that the factor arrays derived from this process represented the viewpoints sufficiently. As explained in the previous chapter, each factor array is essentially a dummy Q-sort that represents one shared point of view. The four factor arrays produced were distinct enough from each other to provide meaningful data without having to apply further rotations. These factor arrays will be analysed in detail in the next chapter. The next chapter will also explain how the data from both extractions was analysed to ensure that the best solution was used.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the process of gathering the data and generating the factors in preparation for factor analysis. As previously highlighted, the transition from the raw Q-sort data to the production of a series of coherent viewpoints goes through three important phases: from

Q-sorts to Q-factors, from Q-factors to factor arrays, and finally from factor arrays to interpretations. This chapter has explained the first two steps in that process.

As discussed, the statements were generated using a combination of focus groups, and statements extracted from the agency literature. The original list of statements was refined and reduced down to a Q-set of 35. The Q-set was analysed to ensure that there was no repetition, that the statements were clear and concise, and that they allowed a full range of viewpoints to be expressed. The participants then sorted the statements during the Q-sort process in the first stage of creating the factors, or shared viewpoints. Once the data was entered into the PQmethod software, extractions were completed using both a seven and five-factor solution, and then rotated using varimax rotation. It was concluded that the seven-factor solution was preferable, which produced four factors of significance. Each of these four factors had at least two Q-sorts loading significantly on them. An initial review of the factor arrays revealed that the viewpoints were also distinct enough from each other to produce meaningful data. The next step is to analyse the factor arrays, and interpret them. This process will be explained in the following chapter.

Chapter Five: Interpretation and Analysis

Introduction

This chapter will outline the process of interpreting the factors and then describe the four significant factors identified from the Q-sort data. These factors will be described as distinct points of view. It is important to remember that each factor does not necessarily represent any one participant's particular opinions; rather, each factor described is a combination of all of the viewpoints that loaded significantly on that factor. Once the viewpoints have been described, they will be analysed in relation to the key concepts that emerged from the agency and efficacy literature.

Interpretation of the Factor Arrays

The factor arrays produced by the PQmethod software are essentially dummy sorts that represent each particular viewpoint. They cannot describe any one viewpoint precisely however, as this would require a Q-sort to have a perfect 1.00 loading against the factor in question. Rather, they are an approximation of the group of viewpoints that sit within the range of that factor. Each factor array was examined in detail, using the 'crib sheet' method suggested by Stenner and Watts (2012). This, involved looking at the highest and lowest ranking statements for each factor, along with the statements that ranked significantly higher or lower than in other factor arrays, as well as identifying any other significant statements, or unusual rankings of statements in the context of the wider factor array²⁴. The crib sheets were analysed, along with the demographic data, and additional interview notes, to gain a deeper understanding of the four viewpoints. At this point, the same process was repeated with the five-factor extraction (in which three factors were deemed significant). The first extraction of seven factors was preferable as it provided four factors that were significant and distinct enough from each other, while also representing a higher portion of the study variance. The four factor arrays are each described as a single point of view in the factor interpretations below²⁵. Significant statements and loadings are included in brackets throughout the factor interpretations²⁶.

Describing the Viewpoints

FACTOR ONE: It is up to individuals to make a difference in politics.

²⁴ The 'crib sheets' for this analysis can be found in appendix 4.

²⁵ As the viewpoints are expressed as summaries of the factor arrays, statements have been directly extracted from the Q-set, as well the additional information gained during post Q-sort interviews. These have not been amended, and therefore contractions are used throughout.

²⁶ The first number in brackets represents the statement number; the second number represents the score from that statement in the factor array.

Outline: Factor one explains 11% of the study variance. Three of the Q-sort participants loaded significantly on this factor – all males, and all aged 25 years or younger. Two are associated with non-local Iwi, and one with the local Iwi, Ngāi Tahu. All of these participants are on the general electoral roll, and voted in the last national election.

Factor summary as a single viewpoint: Political processes are an integral part of our society, and it is important for all citizens to be involved. I have a pretty good understanding of the issues facing New Zealand, and it is essential to both understand the issues (22: +3), and to participate. I really have to understand the issues to want to act politically (2: +2). The way that issues are framed makes a difference, but I don't think they are framed in such a way to appeal to any one group necessarily (1: -1). I don't have any preference for being involved in local or other types of politics (24: -2), and I don't think it is that difficult to participate if I want to (5: -2). There are opportunities to participate in politics on many levels, from voting in elections, right down to getting involved at the local level (4: +1). Although I do not think you have to necessarily be actively involved to have any effect (23: 0), you just have to take opportunities to get involved when they are there, for example voting in national elections (34: +2). I am not sure if individually I can make a difference (13: 0), or whether I can have an effect on what the government does (21: 0) however, if you don't vote you can't complain and every vote does count. Also if you vote, it means you care (20: +4).

As an individual, I don't feel that it is difficult to act separately from traditional structures such as my family or community (6: -1). I am not worried about holding my own political views even if they are different to my Iwi or Hapū; in fact, it is very important to my sense of self to have a political view (26: +4). In addition, actually taking part in political processes such as voting in elections is an important expression of myself (19: +3), and I get a sense of satisfaction from contributing to such processes (33: +2). Participating in the political realm to some degree makes me a better person (29: +1), because it means that I have done my bit. When I take part in political processes, I am not concerned whether or not the candidate is like me (15: -3), or whether they take an interest in my community (25: -1). It is more about whether they have the right attributes to do the job (7: +2), such as integrity, and the skills and knowledge to be a good representative.

While I think that political participation is really important, I don't think it brings me any closer to my community (30: -2). Nor do I think that issues are necessarily more relevant if they concern my Iwi or Hapū (3: -1). I think the wider picture is more important, and issues that effect the wider community are the most relevant. My Iwi isn't really lacking in political influence (17: -2). However, I feel that they don't necessarily represent my interests (18: -4). It may just be that my interests are different to that of those who are more involved in Iwi politics. I don't

necessarily feel that I have any more influence if the people within political forums understand me or not (27: 0). I do feel strongly though that political processes and decisions should not just be left to elected officials (31: -4).

FACTOR TWO: It is not easy to get involved but I take the few opportunities there are.

Outline: Factor two explains 14% of the study variance. Four of the Q-sort participants loaded significantly on this factor, three males and one female. Three of the participants are aged 25 years or younger, and one is over 40. All are associated with non-local Iwi, and two of the males are also associated with the local Iwi, Ngāi Tahu. The two youngest of this group are on general electoral roll, and the other two are on the Māori roll – all of this group voted in the last national election.

Factor summary as a single viewpoint: Tradition and networks seem to play a large part in politics. You have to be actively involved in political forums to have any effect (23: +1), however it is not always easy to get involved in such forums. You have to have certain attributes to move up in the political world (7: +3), and these attributes seem to come with both age and experience. For example, you have to work your way up slowly through the ranks as you get older (35: +2). I am not really sure that there are opportunities to get involved in things political at a local level (4: -2; 24: -1), and it is also hard to get involved in pan tribal forums (9: +2) because of the strong existing networks that are hard to break into. It also feels like the current leaders in certain forums, such as Iwi politics, constrain the voice of others (10: +4), and it is not always easy for women to have a say in traditional forums, although in other forums they do okay (8: 0). Also, it seems like the larger the forum the more difficult it is to be involved (5: +1). I don't think it really makes any difference to the amount I can influence politics if the people within political forums understand me or not (27: 0).

I think that voting in elections is the most important form of political participation (34: +3) because it is the only real way we can get to contribute at a national level. That said, I don't necessarily think that I can have an effect on what the government does (21: 0), and individually it doesn't really feel like I can make a difference (13: -2) but I do feel better about myself if I take part in political processes (28: +2). I wouldn't go as far as saying that it gives me any great sense of satisfaction (33: -1), rather, it is more about making the most of the opportunity to use your democratic right to vote. I think it is somewhat important to my sense of self though to have a political view (26: +1). I think that democracy needs to be more inclusive as well, and that decisions about important issues should not just be left to those elected into power (31: -4; 32: +4).

I am not sure that being Māori makes me care any more about political issues than the next person (16: -4). I am quite disconnected from my Iwi, so I don't feel that as a tribal member I get a voice and make a difference in this forum (14: -3). I am not that worried by this though, because my community doesn't have a huge amount of political influence anyway (17: +1). Being involved in political activities doesn't really make me identify more with my community (30: -2), and I don't think that it is difficult to act politically as an individual separate from traditional structures (6: -1). I don't necessarily think that the collective voice is any stronger than individual action either (12: -2). I wouldn't necessarily be more likely to take part in elections if the candidates are more like me (15: -1). If they weren't like me, but showed an interest in my community, I don't think this would sway me to vote for them (25: -1).

FACTOR THREE: I am not yet very knowledgeable about things political, but I get involved if it means it helps my whānau and community.

Factor outline: Factor three explains 9% of the study variance. Two of the Q-sort participants loaded significantly on this factor – both females, aged 21 and 22. Both are associated with non-local Iwi, are on the Māori roll, and voted in the last national election.

Factor summary as a single viewpoint: Politics is something that is not just about individuals; it is about community and Iwi. You have to be actively involved in politics to really have an effect (23: +1), but it makes more difference if you do that through collective forums because collective voice is stronger than individual action (12: +2). In some ways it can be difficult acting politically as an individual separate from traditional structures (6: 0). This doesn't really worry me though, because my interests are represented by my community/Iwi/Hapū (18: +3), who do have some degree of political influence (17: -1). Community is really important to me, and being involved in political activity makes me identify more with my community (30: +3). Within these traditional forums, I guess I have a voice if I want, but I am not sure how much difference that makes (14: 0). I do feel that I have more influence though when the people in political forums understand me (27: +2). I would also be more inclined to vote for individuals who show an interest in my community even if they are not like me (25: +2).

Although I feel that my interests are represented, I am not sure how easy it would be to get directly involved in politics (4: -2), although I haven't really tried. I am not sure that it makes any difference what size the political forum is, or whether it is local or not (5: -3). I also don't think that age or gender matter that much when it comes to politics (8: -4; 35: -1; 1: -1). I don't think you need any special attributes to get involved (7: 0). Rather, it is more a matter of having the knowledge about the issues, and understanding the relevance of them (32: +4), and then having the determination to get involved. At the moment, because I don't have a very good

understanding of the important political issues facing New Zealand (22: -2), I don't really feel like I can have a say (11: -3). So as an individual I can't really make a difference (13: -2), or have any effect on what the government does (23: -3).

I guess it is somewhat important to have a political view, for my sense of self (26: +1), although being Māori doesn't necessarily make me more or less political than anyone else (16: 0). I think there are issues that are unique to us, but that doesn't make us more or less inclined to have a political view, or get involved in politics. I do feel strongly that there needs to be more involvement in politics from citizens, especially when it comes to decisions about important issues (32: +4) and sometimes it is not for the best when these decisions are left in the hands of elected officials (31: -4).

FACTOR FOUR: Collective action gives a greater sense of agency.

Factor outline: Factor four explains 9% of the study variance. Seven of the Q-sort participants loaded significantly on this factor. This group is the largest to load on a single factor, and shows the widest demographic variation with four males and three females, ranging in age between 22 and 36 years. One is Ngāi Tahu and six are associated with non-local Iwi. All of this group are on the Māori roll, and five of the seven voted in the last national election.

Factor summary as a single viewpoint: Political activities are more of a collective process than an individual process. It is not necessarily difficult to act as an individual separate from traditional structures such as community/iwi/hapū (6: 0), but it is definitely more effective to use collective voice over individual action (12: +4; 13: -1). Because we are all part of a human community, networks and contacts are important to have an effect on politics – you have to be actively involved to a degree (23: +1). Community and family are really important to me, and issues are definitely more relevant to me if they concern my family or community (3: +3). I would also vote for candidates who show an interest in my community even if they are not like me (25: +2; 15: 0).

I think there are opportunities to get involved in things political at a local level (4: +1), and in general I do feel that I can have a say in things political if I want (11: +2). I am not really sure if it makes a difference how large the political forum is or how local it is (24: -1; 5: 0) as to whether I would get involved. If you want to get involved, you just make an effort and do it; everyone should be able to feel a sense of agency in this regard. I don't think that my voice gets constrained in certain forums at all (10: -2).

I feel like I have a pretty good understanding of the political issues facing New Zealand (22: +4), and I think that being involved in political processes is important. I don't think, however, that voting in elections is the most important form of political participation (34: -4). In fact, in a sense

having a political view is more important than the participation, because not all forms of participation are necessarily worthwhile. It is definitely important to my sense of self to have a political view (26: +2), and being involved makes me identify more with my community (30: +1) but political actions such as voting don't really define who I am (19: -3), or mean that I care (20: -1). Other forms of participation are equally as important, and I think that in many ways, participation comes more out of a sense of obligation. I do not feel any better about myself if I take part (28: -3), and I do not necessarily think participating makes me a better person (29: -3).

While I think there are not necessarily barriers to get involved if I wish, and I can have my voice heard, I am not sure that it is necessarily that easy to actually influence what is going on in the political realm. This is why it is important to be a part of a collective – this has a much greater influence. There are also times when the people in power should involve the people and community more, especially when it comes to important issues (31: -4).

A Closer Analysis of Viewpoints in Relation to the Agency and Efficacy Literature

This section will examine the four key viewpoints identified through the Q-method study in relation to the key theoretical concepts and methodological approaches outlined in Chapter Two. In summary, the key concepts drawn from the literature in Chapter Two were:

- Democratic participation has a positive effect on individuals and society as a whole.
- Collective action and collective identity play an important role in political agency.
- Socio-political structures such as those found in representative democracies stymie political agency.
- Standard efficacy measures may or may not be useful in trying to understand political agency. Each concept will be discussed separately in relation to the four factors.

Concept one – political participation has a positive effect on individuals and society as a whole. This concept can be broken down further into the following points:

- Participation in civic and political processes is good for the human character and increases self-assertion.
- Participation promotes an unselfish concern for public good.
- Exposure to the political environment enhances further participation through social training.
- The theory of social training only works if democratic processes occur throughout the different levels in society.

All four factors (viewpoints) indicated that political participation is good for society generally, however there was considerable variance between the viewpoints about what the actual benefits might be, and to whom. Factor one indicated that having a political view is an important expression of self, and that participation creates a sense of satisfaction. Voting in elections was cited as an important aspect of political participation within this viewpoint, and the action of voting contributes to a feeling of self-assertion for these individuals. Factor two also agreed that voting is an important expression of self. The participants in this group indicated that they feel better about themselves when they participate in politics, and indicated that individuals should make the most of opportunities to participate. The viewpoints of these two groups support the theses that 'participation in civic and political processes is good for the human character and increases self-assertion', and that 'participation promotes an unselfish concern for public good'. In addition, all participants that loaded on these two factors voted in the last general election and have identified positive outcomes from doing so, making it highly likely that they will continue to vote in future. Therefore, the views expressed within factors one and two are also consistent with the social training argument that 'exposure to the political environment enhances further participation', however it is less clear whether democratic training needs to occur throughout society, or if social training works as long as individuals take the opportunities to participate when they can.

Factors three and four differed from one and two in relation to their views on political participation. The individuals within these factors agreed that political participation is important, and that it is important to their sense of self to have a political view. The emphasis, however, was less on voting in general elections, and more on traditional, collaborative, or collective forms of political action. Factor three in particular suggests that participation in traditional forums is important because individual interests are represented through such forums. Factor four indicated that access to political forums is important to ensure that everyone can have a sense of agency, but individuals within this group did not relate taking part in political processes to feelings of self-satisfaction in the same way that factors one and two did. There is more emphasis for these individuals on the importance of having a political view, than there is on taking political action. This group expressed that participation often comes out of a sense of duty or obligation, and the obligation in their case is to their community. There was not the same degree of feeling expressed that everyone should be involved in politics with this group. Rather, they indicated that if they choose to be involved in politics that the opportunities should be there for them to be able to do so. While there was a sense with these participants that politics forms an integral part of society, it differed slightly from factor one. For factor four in particular, political activities are viewed as being more entwined, or connected with everyday community life, rather than being

just forms of institutional action such as voting in elections. This viewpoint is somewhat consistent with the key points relating to political participation and its positive effect on individuals and society as a whole, but less so than factor one. There does appear to be an unselfish concern for public good – but this is more specific to the immediate community rather than society as a whole. In addition, while participation is viewed as positive, it does not appear to have the same degree of influence on the self-assertion of the individuals as the theories would suggest. In addition, while seven out of nine of the participants in factors three and four voted in the last election, there is not the same sense of importance attached to voting in this group compared to factors one and two, nor is there the same level of belief in democratic processes being the ultimate form of political participation. Therefore, it is not as clear whether the social training theory works for those focused on community involvement. Factor four also displayed a sense of obligation or duty, rather than a feeling that they were expressing agency from the act of participation, particularly in relation to voting.

Concept two – collective action and collective identity are important aspects of political agency. This concept can be further broken down into the following points:

- Collective action is more effective than acting alone because when resources are pooled social change is more likely.
- Goals must be converted to a single purpose.
- A greater sense of collective identity fosters common purpose more easily. There must be a shared belief in the ability to produce results.

There is a marked difference between the factors on the effect of collective action, and the importance of collective identity. For example, factors one and two indicate a propensity toward more individual forms of political action, whilst factors three and four suggest that collective forms of political action are more effective and of greater importance. Factor three suggests that politics is much more effective when there is a collective involved. The community is thought to mostly represent individual interests well, and is able to exert its influence in the political realm. Factor four emphasises that while it is not necessarily difficult to act as an individual separately from the collective, a collective voice is more influential. Participants that loaded on this factor tend to support candidates who show an interest in their community even if the candidates are different from themselves. This factor also suggests that issues are more important if they concern their family or community. Individuals that loaded on this factor also stated that they identify more with their communities when they are involved in politics. Both factors three and four then, support the notion that collective action is more effective than working alone, that

goals are more achievable when converted to a single purpose, and that a greater sense of common identity is important in achieving political goals.

The other two factors showed very different results in relation to the collective action and collective identity indicators. Neither factors one or two indicate that collective action is any more effective than individual action. Factor one also suggests that every individual action potentially makes a difference. In addition, individuals loading on these two factors stated that they do not feel any more connected to their community when they participate in political activities. The participants in the factor one group mostly felt that their iwi did not necessarily represent their interests, so it was up to them to make a difference politically as individuals. Factors one and two differed from each other in how much influence they ascribed to their community or iwi, with factor one emphasising a degree of political influence, but factor two denying that their community had any significant influence in this arena. Participants that loaded on factor one also stated that they view the community as much wider than just their immediate community, hapū, or iwi – some individuals felt that when they act in politics they do so out of concern for the national community. Thus, factors one and two show an inconsistency with the thesis that it is difficult to make a difference alone, and that political goals must be converted to a single purpose. However, it is difficult to assess whether the theory that 'collective identity fosters common purpose more easily' is demonstrated in this case. This is because while the participants identify strongly as Māori, there is an absence of a sense of collective identity, particularly with factor one. In addition all four factors suggest that being Māori does not make them any more or less political than the next person.

Concept three – Socio-political structures work against agency. This concept is broken into several themes:

- The representative nature of democracy concentrates power, meaning that there is less deliberation and collaboration.
- There are limited opportunities to participate in such systems because representative democracy prevents, discourages, or does not rely on participation.
- A loss of civic skills is a problem for democracy.

One area of agreement across all factors, and all participants generally, is that there should be more deliberation, or consultation with citizens on important issues. There was a marked difference though between the factors as to whether elected officials make decisions in the best interests of those they represent. Factor one for example, suggests that representatives mostly listen and represent their constituents well, whereas factors two, three, and four, indicate that it is not for the best when important decisions are left to elected officials. Overwhelmingly, the

evidence supports the thesis that the representative nature of modern democracy concentrates power into the hands of a few.

The factors indicate some differences about how easy it is to participate in political forums, and whether or not there are opportunities to do so. Factor one suggests, for example, that there are many opportunities to participate if you choose to, as does factor four. Both of these factors suggest that effort is required to take part in politics, but that if individuals do make the effort it is not difficult to be involved. Factor four indicates however, that while it may be easy for Māori to get involved and to have a say in political forums, it may not always be that easy to have an influence within those forums. Factors two and three, conversely suggest that it is more difficult to get involved. Some participants that loaded on factor two, for example, stated that there are often strong existing networks especially in relation to local or traditional politics where they feel that current leaders tend to constrain the voice of others. Those participants also felt though that the larger the forum, the harder it is to get involved. It would appear that there are perceived barriers for these individuals across the spectrum of political forums. While tradition plays a part in cementing those networks, and networks are seen across all of the groups as important for getting involved, this can be a barrier for those without access to such networks. Most participants agreed that the role of networks is vital to be able to seize political opportunities.

These results highlight a complex relationship between structures and opportunities. Traditional political structures such as Iwi and Hapū are an important avenue through which voices can be heard, however those structures must represent all voices in order for the expression of agency of all to be possible. The results are therefore mixed in relation to the thesis that the structures within representative democracies can inhibit opportunities for participation, with some participants indicating that there are plenty of opportunities, and some believing that there are too few opportunities. The results also indicate that it is not just the traits of representative democracy that can present such issues. In addition to democratic structures, the difficulty in accessing traditional structures was highlighted by some participants as being a barrier to political participation. In addition, factor three suggests that there can be difficulties acting as individuals separate from traditional structures. The results highlight that there could potentially be a group of people isolated from both mainstream and traditional avenues of politics. The thesis that lack of opportunity can be attributed to democratic institutions rather than traditional forums for political action such as Iwi and Hapū is therefore difficult to substantiate.

All factors agreed generally that you have to have a good understanding of the issues in order to participate. However the actual level of understanding of the issues facing New Zealand differed substantially between the groups. Factors one and four had a good understanding of the

issues, and factor one felt that it is up to the individual to make sure that they have such knowledge.

Concept four – are standard efficacy measures useful for understanding Māori political agency? This concept contains several aspects:

- Minority and indigenous groups often display lower external efficacy due to a lack of trust and faith in the system, but there can be high internal efficacy in the same individuals. Is this true for Māori?
- It is difficult to isolate internal and external efficacy from the effects of the other.
- Is there a clear relationship between agency and efficacy? Is there a clear relationship between efficacy or agency and participation? Or is this difficult to establish as chapter two argues?

The table below illustrates where each factor sits in relation to the Q-statements that were based on the standard efficacy measures. These standard efficacy measures are the statements used by the original Campbell et al. study (as discussed in Chapter Two).

Factor	Internal efficacy	External efficacy
1	High	Mix of high and low
2	Neutral to low	Neutral to low
3	Low	Low
4	High	Low

Table 2

The levels of trust and faith in the political system varied, as did the levels of knowledge of political issues. Factor one, for example, showed enthusiasm for participation and voting in elections, and felt that this type of participation is vital for a well functioning society. This factor scored highly in the standard internal efficacy measures, however there was a mix of high and low scores on the traditional external efficacy indicators. For example, the questions relating to being able to make a difference, or to have an effect on what the government does, tended toward neutral – however, voting being ‘an important expression of self’ scored higher than any other factor. There was also a high score from this factor for the importance of voting in elections. All of the participants in this group voted in the last general election. They also stated that while their community did have a degree of political influence, they did not necessarily represent their political interests. Overall, factor one initially appeared to have high internal and external efficacy,

however it became apparent after examining more of the responses that the results were mixed across a broader range of indicators.

Factor two scored neutral to low on responses to both internal and external traditional efficacy measures. Participants in this group did not feel that they had a good understanding of current issues, nor did they think that they could make much of a difference politically. For example, they did not believe that their community had much political influence, nor could they really make a difference individually. However, the participants stated that although their vote probably would not make much difference, voting is really the only way that they can have a say, and it is good to exercise the democratic right to vote. Therefore, they supported the notion of voting in democratic elections, and all of the participants in this group voted in the last general election.

The third factor had the lowest internal efficacy measure according to the traditional efficacy measures, and also indicated strongly that you have to understand the relevance of issues to want to act. The external efficacy scores within this factor were also low on the traditional measures, except in relation to Iwi politics, where the participants suggested that they can have influence through their respective Iwi, which in turn has a degree of influence in the wider political realm. The participants also indicated that they feel their influence is greater when political forums understand them. Additionally, although low efficacy was indicated across the traditional measures and more generally, all participants in this group voted in the last election.

Factor four had the highest score on the traditional internal efficacy measures; the participants in this group have a very good understanding of the issues facing New Zealand, and have confidence in their ability to participate. The external efficacy scores on the traditional measures were low for this factor. However, in contrast to the other factors, a high value is placed on alternative means of political participation rather than voting in national elections. Across a broader range of indicators, the participants within this group showed a mix of high and low efficacy. For example, participants in this group do not think that they can have an effect on what the government does, but they do feel that they can get involved and have a say if they want. In fact, they suggested that being involved is very important. The participants indicated that access to forums is quite open, and their voice is not constrained within these forums, however they indicated a degree of doubt in the ability to actually influence political processes. Five out of seven of these participants voted in the last election.

Factor four was the most consistent with the theory that minority groups often have little faith or trust in the system and therefore display low levels of external efficacy. The same factor also shows high levels of internal efficacy due to their increased awareness of relevant issues, which is consistent with this thesis. Factor one shows, however, individuals from indigenous

minorities can trust representative democracy. These participants still identified strongly as Māori, but felt somewhat disconnected from traditional Iwi forums, and so put their trust and faith in the wider democratic system. The other factors had more consistent levels of high and low efficacy across the traditional measures, but there were many inconsistencies within the viewpoints, and within individuals. Factor two, for example, suggests that voting is the most important form of political action, however participants within this group did not think they could have an effect on politics, and felt strongly that as individuals they cannot really make a difference. It is therefore apparent that the traditional efficacy indicators do not fully explain the degree of efficacy, as there were many inconsistencies within the same factors, and in some cases, within the same individuals. Efficacy also varied greatly depending on the type of political forum or process that the participants considered.

The thesis that the effects of internal and external efficacy cannot be easily isolated from each other was not specifically tested in this study. However, the differing levels of efficacy within the same individuals indicate that the thesis is correct and that it would be difficult to isolate such effects.

Of most significance is that it is difficult to understand the level of agency in individuals by simply using traditional efficacy measures. This was clear from the disparities between the ranking of traditional efficacy statements and other similar efficacy type statements. In addition, most of the participants voted in the last election, and were either regular voters or indicated that they were likely to continue to vote. These same individuals had varying levels of both internal and external efficacy on the traditional efficacy indicators. This makes it difficult to correlate participation by way of voting, and having a sense of agency. The evidence from participants is that there may be other explanations for voting that cannot be explained by efficacy levels, such as a sense of duty or obligation, or simply making the most of the few opportunities there may be to participate. In addition, the level of efficacy varied within individuals depending on the type of political forum or institution that was being considered. It is therefore important to use a wide range of examples of political action when conducting agency studies in order to gain a clearer understanding of agency within individuals.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the Q-method data using factor analysis, and then compared the significant factors with the key theoretical concepts gleaned from the agency and efficacy literature. Four significant factors were identified, which represented four distinct viewpoints of Māori political agency. The analysis showed that Māori are not homogenous in their view of politics and the political realm. Each of the distinct viewpoints varied in terms of the level of

agency and efficacy, and the broader attitudes to politics. The participants' views also varied depending on the preference for collective action over individual action. Further, the analysis showed that the way that Māori approach politics is not always consistent with the theories that underpin methodological approaches to political agency. Additionally, there are other factors apart from efficacy feelings that need to be accounted for when understanding political agency. A key point to note is that there does not appear to be a clear linear relationship between efficacy and participation, or participation and efficacy. This research found that participants who had both high and low levels of efficacy participated in institutional forms of political action such as voting, which indicated that there are other motivating factors involved when deciding whether to participate or not.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Implications

In this concluding chapter, I review and summarise the key findings of the research, discuss some of the limitations of the study, and identify opportunities for further research in this field.

This thesis has examined what it means for Māori to have a sense of political agency. As highlighted in the opening chapter, for indigenous groups, including Māori, the political realm is not easy to negotiate. The problem for Māori is twofold. First, democracy does not guarantee political equality. Democratic systems often do not serve minorities well because the voice of a few becomes stymied by the voice of many. Second, historical factors have played a significant role in defining the relationship between Māori and the New Zealand Government. During the course of colonisation and subsequent immigration and settlement, it became difficult to reconcile traditional Māori political structures with the style of government that the European settlers established – Māori became embedded within a political system that was not their own. The relationship between Māori and the New Zealand government has therefore been characterised by tension, conflict, and compromise. This history and tension, has undoubtedly had a significant influence on the political attitudes of Māori, and how their agency is exercised in the political realm.

According to the self-determination literature, what is most important for Māori is having better control over their futures. The desire for self-determination is encapsulated in the concept of tino-rangatiratanga, which is the essence of what Māori strive for as a people – the advancement of Māori, as Māori. The pursuit of self-determination, or tino rangatiratanga, is contingent on having a sense of agency. Thus, understanding the level of agency experienced by individual Māori is an important area of study.

An examination of the existing research on Māori political attitudes found that political participation is used as a key indicator of political attitudes – in particular institutional forms of participation, such as voting in elections. Virtually every study that examines Māori political participation shows that participation rates are lower for Māori than non-Māori. Organisations such as the Electoral Commission realise that it is important to better understand why this is the case. Much of the research supported by the Commission focuses on this issue and has identified three main influences on participation rates: the age demographic of Māori, socioeconomic conditions, and the Māori electoral option. However, while these studies are useful for identifying some of the influences on Māori political participation – they do not examine the question of Māori political agency more broadly. The aim of this thesis was to examine Māori political agency and to begin to address this research gap.

Summary of Key Findings

The Q-method study identified four significant viewpoints of political agency. Each of the viewpoints were distinct, yet there were also areas of commonality. As outlined in the previous chapter, there were varying views about most of the topics covered in the study: how much influence individuals feel they can have on politics, how easy it is to have a political voice in different forums, and what the barriers are to achieving their political aspirations.

This section discusses the key findings in relation to the four specific research questions posed at the start of the thesis: What do Māori aspire to as political agents? What are some of the barriers to those aspirations? Do Māori have the capacity to have an impact on politics if they choose to be involved? How effective are traditional efficacy measures for understanding political attitudes (and in particular, Māori political agency)?

What do Māori aspire to as political agents?

The research found, as is to be expected of a diverse peoples, that there is no single view or aspiration in regard to political agency, and that attitudes to politics are as diverse as the participants themselves. However, there were some commonalities amongst the participants. The participants aspire to being part of political processes, albeit to a level that they desire – the common aspiration being that they want the opportunity to be involved if they choose to do so. Representative democracy in New Zealand is seen as being too exclusive, and all of the participants believe that important decisions should not be left in the hands of a few. That said, there were vastly differing views on what political participation means, and how agency is attained.

The findings of this research largely on Māori political agency support the self-determination literature, which argues that Māori want to have more control over their futures by being able to influence political processes. Most of the participants of this research aspire to being part of the political process in their own way. Only some participants have the desire to be involved directly in political forums, but all participants indicated that it should be possible to participate if they choose to, and they want politics to be accessible to enable this. Almost all of the participants agreed that participation is a good thing, and that politics is good for society generally. Without exception, the participants thought that important decisions should not just be left to those in power, and that communities should have more of a say. That is, they want democracy to be more inclusive. This also supports the self-determination literature that argues that Māori want to have more control over the decisions that affect them.

The research also found though, that there are differing views on what being involved in political processes means, and what type of involvement is important for individuals. Some

participants for example, emphasised the importance of voting in elections, and many of those participants indicated that they gain a sense of satisfaction from doing so. In addition, some believe that choosing the most capable and effective representatives for their communities takes precedence over being directly involved in political forums; these participants emphasised the importance of politics being done by experts. For this group, it is important that the representatives they elect show an interest in their community and understand them. Therefore, for some participants, voting in elections is a significant factor in having a sense of agency, and the level of trust in political representatives plays a significant part in how people feel about the level of influence they can have, and to what level.

For other participants, however, there is less trust in institutional forms of political participation such as voting in elections. The participants that showed more interest in collective forms of political action are less inclined to obtain a sense of satisfaction from voting in elections and believe that collective forms of action are of more benefit to their community. They feel that working as a collective is a way to be more directly involved, and that it is a more effective way to make a difference politically. Non-institutional or non-traditional forms of participation are highlighted as being as important – protesting and abstaining from voting are two such examples. Many participants also feel that having a political view, or opinion, takes precedence over actually taking part in political processes. Politics is not necessarily viewed negatively – it is seen as an important aspect of social relations, and having the opportunity to participate is seen as good for society generally. For some individuals, these results suggest that politics is seen as more of a conversation, a phenomenon that is entwined with everyday life, rather than a process that only takes place at election time.

Agency is therefore different for different individuals; it is achieved in different ways, depending on the political aspirations of the individual. That is, there is no consensus on how agency is best achieved.

What are some of the barriers to those aspirations?

The degree to which perceived barriers affect the ability to have an impact on politics varied greatly amongst the participants. While all agreed that it is important to be able to have a sense of agency, as highlighted above, there was no consensus as to how it is best achieved, or where the responsibility may lie for achieving it. The research found that the degree to which individuals feel that they are able to have an influence on politics varied greatly. Some participants believe that it is difficult to get involved should they desire to do so, however other participants indicated that although agency is not something that necessarily comes easily, there must be a degree of responsibility on individuals to initiate action if you want to be part of the political process.

Interestingly, traditional networks, both Māori and non-Māori, were identified by some as being a means through which to have more political influence, and by others as a barrier stymying their ability to be involved. Some participants indicated that these forums are hard to break into if you do not already have connections within those networks. Many also feel that the traditional leaders within such networks can have the effect of constraining the political voice of others. In contrast, however, other participants think that there are very few barriers to being involved and having a political voice, and that there are plenty of opportunities to participate at a local level and otherwise. These participants believe that if you want to get involved in political forums or networks, then you have to take action and do so. In particular, networks are seen as positive and as a more effective way to get things done, from those who prefer collective forms of action. Interestingly though, some participants who felt that it was not difficult to get access to such networks indicated that while it may be easy to have a say within these forums, they were not sure how much influence they could actually have. This highlights a key point for those in positions of power in political forums: it is important to ensure that these networks are seen as accessible, as this is an important aspect of Māori attaining a sense of agency. Although not everyone agreed, the accessibility to political networks was identified as one of the main barriers to feeling a sense of political agency – particularly for younger participants.

In addition, many feel that the democratic system itself, as highlighted previously, needs to be more inclusive. The majority of the participants stated, for example, that important decisions should not be left to a few individuals. It was difficult to establish though, whether the perceived barrier is in fact the democratic system, or the current government.

Do Māori have the capacity to have an impact on politics if they choose to do so?

As highlighted above, there was an array of feelings about how easy it is to have a political voice, or more importantly, being able to have an impact on politics. Many participants feel that although they can get their point across in many political forums, the ability to influence the process is largely unknown. In addition, as individuals, many participants did not feel like they could make much of a difference. However, many individuals believe that being involved in a collective, or the cumulative effect of participating individually, potentially has an impact.

Those who had less experience or knowledge of politics and political processes felt that as they gained knowledge and confidence they would be more likely to be able to make a bigger impact. This is also evident in the way that barriers to participation are perceived – the more accessible political forums and networks appear, the more likely individuals are to become involved in such forums, potentially increasing their sense of agency. Although many participants feel that individual actions, such as voting, cannot really make much difference, many still feel it is

important to get involved where they can. That is, it was identified that there must be a degree of individual effort in order to achieve a sense of agency.

How effective are traditional efficacy measures for understanding Māori political agency?

A further aim of the study was to examine the effectiveness of traditional efficacy measures for understanding agency in indigenous groups. A review of the agency and efficacy literature revealed that there are several limitations with standard or traditional efficacy measures for understanding agency more broadly, particularly in indigenous groups. Efficacy measures are largely based on the Campbell et al. study of 1954 that measured voting attitudes and behaviour. While these measures have been slightly refined and divided into internal and external efficacy categories, the basic premise of the efficacy statements remains the same and the statements are still used in this format in many political attitude studies. While some advocates espouse the importance of keeping the statements pure, there are many criticisms of the method, particularly in relation to understanding the political attitudes of minority and indigenous groups. It is evident in the literature that efficacy studies presuppose a conception of agency where citizens have a degree of trust and confidence in those who are elected to represent their views sufficiently, and feel empowered by their ability to contribute by voting in elections. This narrow conception of agency is not only reflected in the way that agency is studied, but also in the way that different groups conceptualise politics itself. The narrow focus of efficacy methodologies on specific forms of participation makes it difficult to establish the political attitudes of indigenous groups, whose political focus extends beyond voting in elections. That is, the way that political participation is defined has a significant effect on understanding political agency.

This research confirms many of the criticisms of the efficacy literature. Of most significance is that it appears to be difficult to draw conclusions about political agency from simply using efficacy measures. There are several reasons for this, which will be discussed below.

Individuals can display a range of feelings about politics depending on the political forum or experience that they are referring to. They may feel that they can be involved and influence politics in one forum, but feel left out and unable to contribute to other forums. Unfortunately the study was limited because many of the Q-set statements did not differentiate between different types of political forums and processes. However, the research did highlight some apparent contradictions. The research was able to isolate some of the traditional efficacy statements, and compare these with other similar statements within the Q-sort, and showed that in some cases, the same individuals displayed different levels of efficacy feelings depending on the type of political activity or situation that they were considering. This indicates that traditional efficacy

measures are insufficient for fully exploring the depth of efficacy feelings, and agency more broadly.

In addition to the apparent contradictions within the efficacy feelings of individuals, the research also confirmed that it is difficult to draw a linear relationship between efficacy and participation. All of the participants that loaded on two factors had either indifferent or negative feelings about their ability to have an effect on what government does – yet all of those participants voted in the last general election. In addition, almost all of the study participants voted in the last general election, yet the same individuals showed varying levels of both internal and external efficacy on the traditional efficacy indicators; factor three for example, did not have much self confidence in political processes, and scored low on the traditional internal efficacy indicators, yet all factor three participants voted in the last election. When questioned further about these anomalies, several of the participants stated that they voted out of a sense of duty or obligation, and that they did not feel like they gained a sense of agency when voting. This suggests that having a sense of agency, or showing high efficacy indicators, may not be a significant factor in identifying why individuals participate in political processes – in this case, voting – and that other factors may be more significant such as a sense of duty, or simply making the most of the few opportunities that they see as being available to participate. Therefore, there may be other theories that better explain this relationship.

How Does This Research Add to the Literature?

There is a limited body of research that explores Māori political attitudes and agency. This study adds to the literature in several ways. First, most of the literature on Māori political agency is presented through the lens of self-determination, which focuses on Māori as a people – this thesis focuses on individual Māori and their relationship with the political realm. Next, the research adds to a body of literature that critiques the adequacy of efficacy measures, particularly in relation to understanding the political attitudes of indigenous groups. Finally, by considering these diverse literatures together in the same context, this thesis highlights a gap between the theories of agency, and the lived realities of individuals.

Self-determination literature explores Māori political attitudes to some degree, however much of this literature speaks to the concerns of Māori as a ‘people’, and what their aspirations are in a group context. As this thesis has highlighted, there are a wide range of attitudes, and not all individuals necessarily feel strongly represented or connected to the forums that are striving for tino rangatiratanga. The main focus of this thesis has been to gain an understanding of the political agency of Māori individuals living within the context of a representative democracy, and to begin to form an idea of what Māori political agency might look like in this context. The thesis

has highlighted that individual attitudes vary greatly within this group, and it is therefore difficult to make generalised assumptions about the attitudes of Māori.

The research also adds to the efficacy literature more generally, and confirms prior studies that highlight the difficulties with correlating efficacy and participation. It was very difficult in this case to establish a clear linear relationship between efficacy and participation. The clearest indication of this was that the majority of participants voted at the last general election, yet the degree of both internal and external efficacy according to the traditional efficacy measures varied considerably amongst the participants, suggesting that efficacy is not necessarily the main contributor to decisions about institutional forms of participation such as voting. More specifically, as discussed in the previous section, the research has shown problems with the use of traditional efficacy measures for understanding political agency in indigenous groups. A more obvious problem that the research uncovered is that individuals may display differing levels of efficacy in relation to different forms of political participation. This may not seem significant, however it highlights that it can sometimes be too presumptuous to make conclusions about the relationship between political attitudes and political participation without having a deeper understanding of an individual's feelings toward the political realm. This research highlights the need for caution about making such assumptions without fully exploring the context of those efficacy feelings.

Finally, this research brings together several strands of literature that are often not considered together. Theories of agency have been examined alongside empirical efficacy research in the context of self-determination. By bringing these different areas of enquiry together within the same research, it exposes a gap between theories of agency and the lived experience of agency, particularly for indigenous groups.

Limitations of the Research, and Scope for Further Research

This Q-method study has provided a valuable insight into the political agency of Māori. As with all academic research, there are of course some limitations with this study. First, the sample size is relatively small – nine participants for the focus groups, and nineteen participants for the individual Q-sorts. In addition, most participants are in some way connected with the University of Canterbury – they are either staff, students, or closely associated with staff or students of the University. These factors mean that the results may not be generalisable across a wider population. As proponents of Q-method argue however, Q-studies can be done effectively with a very small sample size, because the main objective is not to gain a population wide view on a topic. In this case, the main objective was to draw attention to some of the various viewpoints on political agency held by Māori – this objective has been met.

Due to the scope and time constraints of the research, it was simply not possible to pursue all avenues of enquiry or theories of interest. This thesis has primarily focused on efficacy and participation because of the strong link in the literature between political attitudes, agency, efficacy, and participation. There may however, be other theories that can provide further explanation for some of the barriers and enablers to participation. Rational choice theory, for example, may provide further scope to investigate the reasons why Māori choose to participate or not in the political realm.

There may also be further scope to consider what these results mean for democracy. There are many variations of democracy in practice, and different governments and governing bodies have varying ideas about how deliberative or participatory democracy should be. The results of the research indicated that there were differing levels of trust in the political system, and that individuals had different attitudes toward different types of political entities. Further research could perhaps focus on particular political entities, or processes, in order to establish where levels of trust can be improved.

Conclusion

To date there has been very little research that explores Māori political agency. It is a vital area of study, because for indigenous groups including Māori, having better control over their futures is contingent on having a sense of agency. This research highlighted the complexity of understanding agency, and the limitations of some of the ways that we measure it.

Political attitudes were found to be as diverse as the individuals themselves. While some Māori want to be fully involved in the political realm, others simply want political forums to be more accessible so that if they choose to be involved, they can. Some find it easy to penetrate traditional political networks, and others find it somewhat intimidating. For some Māori, voting is the most important form of political action, yet for others, voting is viewed rather more cynically. These diverse views highlight two important factors: the importance of understanding the context in which individuals wish to, or do, assert political agency, and recognising that agency feelings are unique to each individual.

Appendices

Appendix One: Consent Forms and Approval Letters

CONSENT FORM – Focus Group

Toni Sheed
University of Canterbury Political Science Department
School of Social and Political Sciences
Room 507A, Level 5, Locke Building

24 October 2013

Project: Understanding the Political Attitudes of Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate in a focus group discussion, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that my anonymity will be preserved.

Due to the difficulty of working out which participants have contributed which statements, I understand that as a participant in the focus group I cannot pull data out, should I decide to stop participating.

I understand that the focus group will not be audio or video recorded but that the researcher will be taking written notes, which I will have the opportunity to read.

I note that the project has been reviewed by, and has the support of, the Ngai Tahu Research Centre, and Maori Student Services at the University of Canterbury. The project has also been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

NAME (please print):

Signature:

Date:

Information Sheet – Focus Group

Toni Sheed

University of Canterbury Political Science Department

School of Social and Political Sciences

Room 507A, Level 5, Locke Building

INFORMATION

You are invited to participate in a focus group discussion in the research project **Understanding the Political Attitudes of Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand.**

The aim of this project is to gain a better understanding of the political attitudes of Māori and to explore the extent of the variations in attitudes between the participants.

Your involvement in this project will be to partake in an informal focus group in which you will be invited to share your thoughts on this topic. The session will be run as a brainstorm, with the researcher as the facilitator, however the discussion will largely be conducted between the participants. The session should take no longer than one hour. Due to the nature of focus groups, it will not be possible for participants to request the withdrawal of their individual contributions should they choose to withdraw from the focus group session.

As a follow-up to this focus group, should you meet the age group criteria for this project, you will be also be invited to participate in a one on one interview session where you will be ranking the statements that are produced through these sessions. You will be contacted nearer to the time to discuss your availability for this.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered, and that the identity of participants will not be made public. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, no identifying or personal information will be used in the thesis or any publication. The focus group sessions will not be recorded, however the interviewer will take written notes that you will have the opportunity to read.

The project is being carried out as a requirement for a Master of Arts Thesis by Toni Sheed under the supervision of Lindsey Te Ata O Tu MacDonald, who can be contacted at the University of Canterbury Political Science Department, telephone 364 2687. He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

The project has been reviewed by, and has the support of, the Ngai Tahu Research Centre, and Maori Student Services at the University of Canterbury, and reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

CONSENT FORM – Q sort participants

Toni Sheed
University of Canterbury Political Science Department
School of Social and Political Sciences
Room 507A, Level 5, Locke Building



24 October 2013

Project:

Understanding the Political Attitudes of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that my anonymity will be preserved.

I also understand that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

I understand that the interviews will not be audio or video recorded, but that the interviewer will be taking written notes, which I will be given the opportunity to read.

I note that the project has been reviewed by, and has the support of, the Ngai Tahu Research Centre, and Maori Student Services at the University of Canterbury. The project has also been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

NAME (please print):

Signature:

Date:

Information Sheet – Q sort participants

Toni Sheed

University of Canterbury Political Science Department

School of Social and Political Sciences

Room 507A, Level 5, Locke Building



INFORMATION

You are invited to participate as a subject in the research project **Understanding the Political Attitudes of Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand**.

The aim of this project is to gain a better understanding of the political attitudes of Māori and to explore the extent of the variations in attitudes between the participants.

Your involvement in this project will be to look at series of cards with statements about different attitudes to politics and different ways you might think about or feel about politics. You will be asked to rank these statements in order of preference from most agree with, to least agree with. You will then be asked some general questions about why you have chosen to rank the statements in the way you have. This should take approximately forty minutes. You have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information provided.

The results of the project may be published, but you can be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation, and that the identity of participants will not be made public. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, pseudonyms will be used in place of actual names in the thesis and any other publication. The interview will not be recorded, however, the interviewer will take written notes, which you will have the opportunity to read.

The project is being carried out as a requirement for a Master of Arts Thesis by Toni Sheed under the supervision of Lindsey Te Ata O Tu MacDonald, who can be contacted at 364 2687. He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

The project has been reviewed by, and has the support of, the Ngai Tahu Research Centre, and Maori Student Services at the University of Canterbury, and reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Lynda Griffioen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2012/66

11 July 2012

Toni Sheed
School of Social & Political Sciences
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Toni

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal “Understanding the political attitudes of Maori and non-Maori young adults in Aotearoa New Zealand” has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 9 July 2012.

Best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely



Michael Grimshaw
Chair
University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee



HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Lynda Griffioen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2012/66

28 January 2013

Toni Sheed
School of Social & Political Sciences
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Toni

Thank you for your request for an amendment to your research proposal "Understanding the political attitudes of Maori and non-Maori young adults in Aotearoa New Zealand" as outlined in your email dated 6 December 2012.

I am pleased to advise that this request has been considered and approved by the Human Ethics Committee.

Yours sincerely

pp

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'N. Baird'.

Natalie Baird
Acting Deputy Chair, Human Ethics Committee

Ngāi Tahu Research Centre

Tel: +64 3 364 2987 ext 7979
ntrc@canterbury.ac.nz
www.ntrc.canterbury.ac.nz

University of Canterbury Private Bag 4800,
Christchurch 8140, New Zealand.



Tena korua Lindsey and Toni

On behalf of the Ngai Tahu Research Centre, I congratulate you for starting empirical work in the area of Maori attitudes to political agency.

I am very happy to support that work and the methods that Toni intends to apply in her empirical work for her MA. I expect to be advised of the results and look forward to discussing these with Toni and yourself.

Whiti reia,

Te Maire Tau,
Director,
Ngai Tahu Research Centre



From: "Ripeka Tamanui-Hurunui" <ripeka.hurunui@canterbury.ac.nz>
Date: 1 June 2012 11:00:16 AM NZST
To: "Lindsey MacDonald" <lindsey.macdonald@canterbury.ac.nz>
Subject: support for research

Tena kōrua Lindsey and Toni

On behalf of the Māori Development Team at UC, I congratulate you for looking at the attitudes to political agency of our Māori student cohort. I am very happy to support that work and the methods you intend to apply.

I have discussed with my staff this work and we are happy to arrange for some students and staff to participate in the focus group, and to facilitate the advertising of the research to students within the constraints as they have been outlined in the proposal: that is to say, we do not wish to pass on student details to you, but will encourage students to make contact so that they can participate in the research.

Nāku noa

nā

Ripeka Tamanui-Hurunui

Manager (Acting)

Māori Development Team

Office of the AVC Māori

Ph 364 2987 ext 4133

Cell 0275097260

Office 148B, Te Ao Marama complex, Arts Road

University of Canterbury

Appendix Two: List of Statements Generated by Focus Groups

List of statements – FROM THE LITERATURE

“The government doesn’t really care about what I say.”

“Elected officials are better able to make decisions for voters than voters themselves.”

“The daily lives of citizens are deeply affected and changed by the decisions of government.”

“I get pretty confused when listening to political speeches – one person pretty much says the same as the next.”

“We should be concerned with the decline in democratic participation, and about who is voting and who is not voting.”

“There doesn’t really seem to be a difference between political parties – they all seem pretty much the same to me.”

“Voting doesn’t really make much difference to policies.”

“Politics doesn’t really affect me.”

“I would be more likely to vote if the candidates were more like me.”

“I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics.”

“I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing New Zealand.”

“I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people.”

“I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people.”

“Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can’t really understand what’s going on.”

“I don’t think public officials care much what people like me think.”

“Politics is about more than just voting in elections.”

“You can trust the government to do what is right most of the time.”

“Voting is a waste of time – I don’t see what’s in it for me.”

“People like me do not have any say about what the government does.”

“The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.”

“Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.”

“The ability for Māori to act for themselves is important.”

“The ability and right to make decisions for myself and my future is important.”

“Māori views and needs differ from Pakeha views and needs.”

“Iwi groups adequately represent my views and concerns.”

“Māori access to New Zealand society and economy is as important as enhancing Māori lives, knowledge and culture.”

List of statements – FROM FOCUS GROUP ONE

“Iwi politics sometimes makes it difficult to have a say.”

“You have to have certain attributes to move up in the political world – eg, whakapapa, korero Māori, leadership qualities, contact with Marae etc.”

“Even when you are well qualified it is still difficult for young women to have an influence in certain political forums (eg Iwi).”

“The current leaders in certain political forums (eg Iwi) constrain the voice of others.”

“You have to work your way up through the political ranks slowly as you get older – younger people are not easily accepted in certain political forums (eg Iwi).”

“Traditional political forums (eg Iwi/Hapu) don’t seem to be keeping up with the times – eg connecting with their members through facebook is not as valued as face to face contact.”

“It seems like it is hard to get involved in certain political groups (such as the Māori Women’s Welfare League).”

“It is good to see more visible representation in Parliament of Māori.”

“Agency is locked into tradition – it is difficult to express your individual point of view when family (whānau/hapu) tradition favours working (eg voting) collectively.”

“I hate voting.”

“Voting makes me feel conflicted.”

“If the issues are relevant to me then I want to participate.”

“You have to understand the relevance of issues to want to act.”

“The level of commitment is much higher when the issue matters.”

“Issues are more relevant if the concerns are collective.”

“Being aware of issues makes a difference to wanting to act.”

“The media makes certain issues seem more important.”

“It is harder to understand the issues when you are younger.”

“The issues seem to be framed more for the older generations.”

“Having to choose between the Māori and general roll makes me feel conflicted.”

“If your electoral representative has a large electorate it makes it harder to relate to them.”

“I am more likely to relate to an MP if they take an interest in their electorate and the people they are representing even if they are not necessarily like me.”

“Elders have more influence in the political world than young people.

It feels like women still have less of a say.”

“It is harder to have a say when you are younger.”

“My voice is important but it feels like there is gatekeeping from the older generation (eg. Kaumātua).”

“Party politics for Māori is now more representative – but not across the age spectrum.”

“It feels like it is hard to be heard as an individual.”

“A collective voice seems to work better.”

“Kaumātua can constrain the ability to make a difference.”

“You can make a difference but you have to work your way up to be able to do so.”

“It is hard to strike a balance between Māori autonomy and Western institutions.”

“You can have a say, but your point of view doesn’t always count – there is a hierarchy.”

“You have to earn respect and authority before your voice can really make a difference.”

“It makes a difference when politicians get involved with the younger generation.”

“Politicians should connect more often with the younger generation.”

“Individually it feels like I can’t make a difference, the collective voice is more likely to be heard and acted upon – like signing a petition.”

“There should be an alignment of Parliament to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi – so that there can be a true partnership.”

“The Māori roll vote seems like a waste of a vote, but it is still important that I am on the Māori roll to keep our Kaupapa.”

“The dual roll system constrains choice for Māori.”

“Being Māori makes you political.”

“It is important for Māori to have a political view.”

“As a Māori you are expected to know about not just tikanga but also about political things.”

“Māori have always been political.”

“It doesn’t seem fair that Māori are expected to know about political stuff when non-Māori are not.”

“It still feels like the Western system is constraining for Māori.”

“It feels like the existing system is not suited to collectivity.”

“The existing electoral system seems to split the Māori vote watering down collective power.”

“It is hard to identify with any one political party.”

List of statements – FROM FOCUS GROUP TWO

“I do feel like I can have a say in things political.”

“You really need to be actively involved in certain forums to have a say
I feel like my voice is heard.”

“Networks are important to being able to have a say in decisions – a lot depends on who you know.”

“You really have to have some desire to be involved and have a say .”

"I feel like I have more of a voice within my own group and that I am listened to – in my iwi/hapu for example."

"It feels like my voice is more important to my own tribe."

"As a tribal member I usually have a vote on issues and this makes me feel like I am making a difference."

"It is difficult at pan-tribal forums to have my voice heard."

"Pan tribal forums are usually only interested in the opinions of experts and kaumatua – it is difficult to feel like your voice is important."

"My voice gets heard but only to a certain level – my MP might listen, but I don't feel like that will that make a difference to anything."

"It seems like holders of the Māori seats have less of a profile in parliament."

"The dual electoral roll system is important because it gives a guaranteed voice to Māori."

"The dual electoral roll system gives you more choice."

"Certain issues seem to be a catalyst for involvement in politics for some people, otherwise they probably wouldn't care – like the merging of schools for example."

"An understanding of my world view is important for my voice to be understood."

"I feel more empowered when political forums (health or school boards, political parties etc) share my world view."

"A lack of understanding of my world view and my issues interferes with my sense of agency."

"I feel like things are getting better for Māori but there is still a long way to go – it doesn't feel like a partnership."

"Within my group I feel that I have agency, but I still feel like my group is still subordinate which denies that sense of agency."

"I think there are opportunities to get involved in things political at a local level."

"The wider the group is that I am involved in, the more apolitical I would become."

"It seems like involvement in the community, especially when you are young, means that there is more chance of getting involved in things political."

"I like to actively voice my opinion in things like protests or boycotts, but I am not sure this really makes a difference."

"It feels like a lot of people are politically apathetic."

"People don't think their vote makes a difference."

"There needs to be discontent for people to go out and vote."

"People think voting is unimportant."

"You can be more strategic with your vote with the dual electoral roll system."

"The dual roll allows for more say of common interest."

“The closer the competition between candidates, the more important I think it is to vote.”

“Non-voting is also a legitimate political action.”

“There should be some sort of ‘no-confidence’ voting option.”

“If I don’t vote it doesn’t mean I don’t care.”

“Policies are important in influencing whether or not I vote.”

“Issues that affect my hapū or iwi influence my decision to vote and for who.”

“Māori do care a lot about political issues which is unique.”

“The concern for issues is not just about me it is about my hapū and iwi as well.”

Final list of consolidated statements

1. The way that issues are framed makes politics appeal more to older people.
2. I have to understand the relevance of issues to want to act politically.
3. Issues are more relevant if they concern my family/hapū or community/iwi.
4. I think there are opportunities to get involved in things political at a local level.
5. The larger the political forum is, the more difficult it is to be involved.
6. It is difficult act politically as an individual separate from traditional structures such as community/iwi or family/hapū.
7. You have to have certain attributes to move up in the political world – for example leadership qualities, networks and contacts, an understanding of tradition.
8. It feels like women have less of a say.
9. It is difficult to participate at pan-tribal forums, as they are more interested in the opinions of experts and kaumatua.
10. The current leaders in certain political forums (eg Iwi) constrain the voice of others.
11. In general I do feel like I can have a say in things political if I want.
12. Collective voice is stronger than individual action.
13. Individually it feels like I can make a difference.
14. As a tribal member I usually have a voice on issues and this makes me feel like I am making a difference.
15. I am more likely to take part in elections if the candidates are more like me.
16. Being Māori means that you care a lot about political issues.
17. My community does not have much political influence.
18. I feel that my political interests are represented by my community/iwi or family/hapū.
19. Voting is an important expression of myself.
20. If I vote it means I care.
21. I can have an effect on what the government does.

22. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing New Zealand.
23. You have to be actively involved in political forums to really have any effect on politics.
24. I prefer acting in local politics.
25. I vote for candidates who show an interest in my community even if they are not like me.
26. It is important to my sense of self to have a political view.
27. I feel like I have more influence when the people within political forums understand me.
28. I feel better about myself if I take part in political processes.
29. I think participating in the political realm makes me a better person.
30. Being involved in political activities makes me identify more with my community.
31. I think it is better when decisions are left to elected officials.
32. Decisions about important issues are the responsibility of all citizens not just the people elected into power.
33. I get a sense of satisfaction from contributing to political processes.
34. I think voting in general elections is the most important form of political participation.
35. You have to work your way up through the political ranks slowly as you get older – younger people are not so easily accepted in certain political forums.

Appendix Three: PQmethod Data

PQMethod2.20 Agency2
 Path and Project Name: c:/pqmethod/projects/agency2

Correlation Matrix Between Sorts

SORTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1 Qsort 1	100	19	22	28	35	12	34	11	19	50	42	22	55	20	21	46	27	39	49
2 Qsort 2	19	100	4	32	19	36	8	35	-10	-8	8	43	27	14	14	14	1	6	44
3 Qsort 3	22	4	100	1	37	16	28	12	23	3	34	39	26	18	28	20	61	18	34
4 Qsort 4	28	32	1	100	-3	25	19	12	18	32	5	34	34	61	43	24	27	33	46
5 Qsort 5	35	19	37	-3	100	17	25	24	3	28	34	41	31	-8	-2	12	28	1	40
6 Qsort 6	12	36	16	25	17	100	26	34	-4	-1	46	48	2	38	29	23	39	22	45
7 Qsort 7	34	8	28	19	25	26	100	37	-1	4	21	37	22	5	21	34	34	-9	22
8 Qsort 8	11	35	12	12	24	34	37	100	-17	9	31	57	0	14	7	16	32	3	36
9 Qsort 9	19	-10	23	18	3	-4	-1	-17	100	43	3	-17	37	23	41	22	24	56	-5
10 Qsort 10	50	-8	3	32	28	-1	4	9	43	100	19	4	49	21	13	43	29	44	24
11 Qsort 11	42	8	34	5	34	46	21	31	3	19	100	38	4	41	9	34	43	29	44
12 Qsort 12	22	43	39	34	41	48	37	57	-17	4	38	100	14	29	12	13	47	-9	54
13 Qsort 13	55	27	26	34	31	2	22	0	37	49	4	14	100	23	54	45	39	36	34
14 Qsort 14	20	14	18	61	-8	38	5	14	23	21	41	29	23	100	39	46	37	39	46
15 Qsort 15	21	14	28	43	-2	29	21	7	41	13	9	12	54	39	100	48	51	60	24
16 Qsort 16	46	14	20	24	12	23	34	16	22	43	34	13	45	46	48	100	36	39	35
17 Qsort 17	27	1	61	27	28	39	34	32	24	29	43	47	39	37	51	36	100	27	43
18 Qsort 18	39	6	18	33	1	22	-9	3	56	44	29	-9	36	39	60	39	27	100	31
19 Qsort 19	49	44	34	46	40	45	22	36	-5	24	44	54	34	46	24	35	43	31	100

PQMethod2.20 Agency2
 Path and Project Name: c:/pqmethod/projects/agency2

Unrotated Factor Matrix

	Factors						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SORTS							
1 Qsort 1	0.6110	-0.1048	0.0065	0.2901	0.0868	0.2733	0.0831
2 Qsort 2	0.3281	0.1634	0.0185	-0.3985	0.1456	0.3524	0.1461
3 Qsort 3	0.4622	0.2040	0.0288	0.3029	0.0949	-0.2874	0.0872
4 Qsort 4	0.5170	-0.2148	0.0290	-0.4751	0.2278	0.2133	0.0498
5 Qsort 5	0.3918	0.3209	0.0721	0.4116	0.1874	0.2082	0.0470
6 Qsort 6	0.4968	0.3171	0.0704	-0.3043	0.0776	-0.2165	0.0470
7 Qsort 7	0.3982	0.2043	0.0288	0.1644	0.0283	0.0506	0.0030
8 Qsort 8	0.3799	0.4688	0.1625	-0.0950	0.0054	0.0921	0.0092
9 Qsort 9	0.2762	-0.5345	0.2103	0.1609	0.0271	-0.2057	0.0422
10 Qsort 10	0.4408	-0.4079	0.1134	0.2770	0.0788	0.2106	0.0480
11 Qsort 11	0.5309	0.2309	0.0369	0.0587	0.0045	-0.2241	0.0507
12 Qsort 12	0.5586	0.6282	0.3302	-0.1217	0.0102	0.1458	0.0228
13 Qsort 13	0.5880	-0.3500	0.0814	0.1806	0.0338	0.2539	0.0710
14 Qsort 14	0.5572	-0.1559	0.0149	-0.3295	0.0931	-0.2345	0.0559
15 Qsort 15	0.5659	-0.3261	0.0700	-0.1028	0.0066	-0.2637	0.0721
16 Qsort 16	0.6087	-0.2385	0.0362	0.0699	0.0060	-0.0097	0.0000
17 Qsort 17	0.6979	0.1048	0.0082	0.1299	0.0182	-0.2762	0.0798
18 Qsort 18	0.5083	-0.5199	0.1969	-0.0843	0.0040	-0.2522	0.0654
19 Qsort 19	0.7260	0.2000	0.0282	-0.1643	0.0195	0.1616	0.0280
Eigenvalues	5.1492	2.1219	0.2596	1.1870	0.1493	0.9415	0.0748
% expl.Var.	27	11	1	6	1	5	0

PQMethod2.20 Agency2
 Path and Project Name: c:/pqmethod/projects/agency2

Factor Matrix with an X Indicating a Defining Sort

Loadings				
QSORT	1	2	3	4
1 Qsort 1	0.6487X	0.1563	0.1477	0.2953
2 Qsort 2	0.0947	-0.0437	0.6545X	0.1306
3 Qsort 3	0.1520	0.1907	-0.1379	0.5870X
4 Qsort 4	0.1857	0.3703	0.6768X	0.0136
5 Qsort 5	0.4416	-0.1973	0.0159	0.5040
6 Qsort 6	-0.1751	0.2304	0.3641	0.5314X
7 Qsort 7	0.2360	0.0060	0.0716	0.4112X
8 Qsort 8	0.0145	-0.1087	0.3013	0.5227X
9 Qsort 9	0.2806	0.5919X	-0.1721	-0.0740
10 Qsort 10	0.6285X	0.3237	0.0236	0.0077
11 Qsort 11	0.0644	0.2250	0.0739	0.5721X
12 Qsort 12	0.0593	-0.1103	0.4270	0.7370X
13 Qsort 13	0.6438X	0.3495	0.1677	0.1008
14 Qsort 14	-0.0102	0.5606X	0.3480	0.2410
15 Qsort 15	0.1564	0.6557X	0.1277	0.1934
16 Qsort 16	0.3908	0.4393	0.1319	0.2365
17 Qsort 17	0.1946	0.3922	0.0493	0.6195X
18 Qsort 18	0.2135	0.7675X	0.0719	0.0380
19 Qsort 19	0.2661	0.1752	0.4867	0.5056
% expl.Var.	11	14	9	16

PQMethod2.20 Agency2
Path and Project Name: c:/pqmethod/projects/agency2

Correlations Between Factor Scores

	1	2	3	4
1	1.0000	0.5069	0.3410	0.2921
2	0.5069	1.0000	0.3511	0.2634
3	0.3410	0.3511	1.0000	0.3604
4	0.2921	0.2634	0.3604	1.0000

No.	Statement	No.	Z-SCORES
26	It is important for my sense of self to have a political vie	26	1.886
20	If I vote it means I care	20	1.696
32	Decisions about important issues are the responsibility of a	32	1.682
19	Voting is an important expression of myself	19	1.479
22	I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important p	22	1.325
7	You have to have certain attributes to move up in the politi	7	1.108
34	I think voting in general elections is the most important fo	34	0.950
2	I have to understand the relevance of issues to want to act	2	0.911
33	I get a sense of satisfaction from contributing to political	33	0.754
28	I feel better about myself if I take part in political proce	28	0.536
11	In general I do feel like I can have a say in things politic	11	0.389
12	Collective voice is stronger than individual action	12	0.378
4	I think there are opportunities to get involved in things po	4	0.361
29	I think participating in the political realm makes me a bett	29	0.358
21	I can have an effect on what government does	21	0.207
13	Individually it feels like I can make a difference	13	0.189
10	The current leaders of certain political forums constrain th	10	0.189
9	It is difficult to participate at pan tribal forums	9	0.179
35	You have to work your way up through the political ranks slo	35	-0.172
27	I feel like I have more influence when the people within pol	27	-0.196
23	You have to be actively involved in political forums to real	23	-0.344
25	I vote for candidates who show an interest in my community e	25	-0.392
1	The way that issues are framed makes politics appeal to olde	1	-0.403
14	As a tribal member I usually have a voice on issues and feel	14	-0.561
6	It is difficult to act politically as an individual separate	6	-0.561
3	Issues are more relevant if they concern my family/hapu or i	3	-0.722
30	Being involved in political activities makes me identify mor	30	-0.743
5	The larger the political forum is, the more difficult it is	5	-1.115
17	My community does not have much political influence	17	-1.118
24	I prefer acting in local politics	24	-1.122
8	It feels like women have less of a say	8	-1.142
15	I am more likely to take part in elections if the candidates	15	-1.325
16	Being Maori means you care alot about political issues	16	-1.472
31	I think it is better when decisions are left to elected offi	31	-1.518
18	I feel that my political interests are represented by my com	18	-1.672

Factor Scores -- For Factor 2

No.	Statement	No.	Z-SCORES
32	Decisions about important issues are the responsibility of a	32	1.906
10	The current leaders of certain political forums constrain th	10	1.544
2	I have to understand the relevance of issues to want to act	2	1.463
34	I think voting in general elections is the most important fo	34	1.438
7	You have to have certain attributes to move up in the politi	7	1.426
3	Issues are more relevant if they concern my family/hapu or i	3	1.179
9	It is difficult to participate at pan tribal forums	9	1.131
35	You have to work your way up through the political ranks slo	35	0.829
28	I feel better about myself if I take part in political proce	28	0.776
1	The way that issues are framed makes politics appeal to olde	1	0.675
23	You have to be actively involved in political forums to real	23	0.456
5	The larger the political forum is, the more difficult it is	5	0.224
17	My community does not have much political influence	17	0.190
26	It is important for my sense of self to have a political vie	26	0.131
21	I can have an effect on what government does	21	0.130
27	I feel like I have more influence when the people within pol	27	0.083
20	IfI vote it means I care	20	-0.055
11	In general I do feel like I can have a say in things politic	11	-0.107
29	I think participating in the political realm makes me a bett	29	-0.113
19	Voting is an important expression of myself	19	-0.166
8	It feels like women have less of a say	8	-0.255
25	I vote for candidates who show an interest in my community e	25	-0.332
24	I prefer acting in local politics	24	-0.367
22	I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important p	22	-0.374
6	It is difficult to act politically as an individual separate	6	-0.409
33	I get a sense of satisfaction from contributing to political	33	-0.431
12	Collective voice is stronger than individual action	12	-0.668
13	Individually it feels like I can make a difference	13	-0.704
30	Being involved in political activities makes me identify mor	30	-0.787
4	I think there are opportunities to get involved in things po	4	-0.864
15	I am more likely to take part in elections if the candidates	15	-0.893
14	As a tribal member I usually have a voice on issues and feel	14	-1.320
18	I feel that my political interests are represented by my com	18	-1.475
31	I think it is better when decisions are left to elected offi	31	-2.019
16	Being Maori means you care alot about political issues	16	-2.244

PQMethod2.20 Agency2
 Path and Project Name: c:/pqmethod/projects/agency2

Factor Scores -- For Factor 3

No.	Statement	No.	Z-SCORES
32	Decisions about important issues are the responsibility of a	32	1.727
2	I have to understand the relevance of issues to want to act	2	1.455
18	I feel that my political interests are represented by my com	18	1.382
30	Being involved in political activities makes me identify mor	30	1.159
20	If I vote it means I care	20	1.110
34	I think voting in general elections is the most important fo	34	1.110
12	Collective voice is stronger than individual action	12	1.086
25	I vote for candidates who show an interest in my community e	25	0.888
27	I feel like I have more influence when the people within pol	27	0.814
28	I feel better about myself if I take part in political proce	28	0.617
23	You have to be actively involved in political forums to real	23	0.592
26	It is important for my sense of self to have a political vie	26	0.592
33	I get a sense of satisfaction from contributing to political	33	0.592
3	Issues are more relevant if they concern my family/hapu or i	3	0.543
10	The current leaders of certain political forums constrain th	10	0.271
6	It is difficult to act politically as an individual separate	6	0.247
7	You have to have certain attributes to move up in the politi	7	0.049
9	It is difficult to participate at pan tribal forums	9	0.025
29	I think participating in the political realm makes me a bett	29	0.025
16	Being Maori means you care alot about political issues	16	-0.025
14	As a tribal member I usually have a voice on issues and feel	14	-0.049
35	You have to work your way up through the political ranks slo	35	-0.271
17	My community does not have much political influence	17	-0.321
1	The way that issues are framed makes politics appeal to olde	1	-0.543
19	Voting is an important expression of myself	19	-0.592
15	I am more likely to take part in elections if the candidates	15	-0.814
24	I prefer acting in local politics	24	-0.839
4	I think there are opportunities to get involved in things po	4	-0.888
22	I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important p	22	-0.888
13	Individually it feels like I can make a difference	13	-1.110
11	In general I do feel like I can have a say in things politic	11	-1.135
5	The larger the political forum is, the more difficult it is	5	-1.159
21	I can have an effect on what government does	21	-1.382
8	It feels like women have less of a say	8	-1.998
31	I think it is better when decisions are left to elected offi	31	-2.270

PQMethod2.20 Agency2
 Path and Project Name: c:/pqmethod/projects/agency2

Factor Scores -- For Factor 4

No.	Statement	No.	Z-SCORES
12	Collective voice is stronger than individual action	12	2.249
22	I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important p	22	2.076
3	Issues are more relevant if they concern my family/hapu or i	3	1.908
32	Decisions about important issues are the responsibility of a	32	1.635
2	I have to understand the relevance of issues to want to act	2	1.448
26	It is important for my sense of self to have a political vie	26	0.745
7	You have to have certain attributes to move up in the politi	7	0.698
25	I vote for candidates who show an interest in my community e	25	0.595
11	In general I do feel like I can have a say in things politic	11	0.519
4	I think there are opportunities to get involved in things po	4	0.517
27	I feel like I have more influence when the people within pol	27	0.355
35	You have to work your way up through the political ranks slo	35	0.337
30	Being involved in political activities makes me identify mor	30	0.242
23	You have to be actively involved in political forums to real	23	0.061
15	I am more likely to take part in elections if the candidates	15	-0.002
5	The larger the political forum is, the more difficult it is	5	-0.083
1	The way that issues are framed makes politics appeal to olde	1	-0.196
33	I get a sense of satisfaction from contributing to political	33	-0.279
18	I feel that my political interests are represented by my com	18	-0.288
9	It is difficult to participate at pan tribal forums	9	-0.290
6	It is difficult to act politically as an individual separate	6	-0.354
24	I prefer acting in local politics	24	-0.367
13	Individually it feels like I can make a difference	13	-0.431
14	As a tribal member I usually have a voice on issues and feel	14	-0.443
17	My community does not have much political influence	17	-0.509
20	If I vote it means I care	20	-0.625
16	Being Maori means you care alot about political issues	16	-0.686
8	It feels like women have less of a say	8	-0.687
21	I can have an effect on what government does	21	-0.741
10	The current leaders of certain political forums constrain th	10	-0.778
28	I feel better about myself if I take part in political proce	28	-0.817
29	I think participating in the political realm makes me a bett	29	-0.847
19	Voting is an important expression of myself	19	-1.029
34	I think voting in general elections is the most important fo	34	-1.723
31	I think it is better when decisions are left to elected offi	31	-2.212

PQMethod2.20 Agency2
 Path and Project Name: c:/pqmethod/projects/agency2
 Factor Q-Sort Values for Each Statement

No.	Statement	No.	Factor Arrays			
			1	2	3	4
1	The way that issues are framed makes politics appeal to olde	1	-1	1	-1	0
2	I have to understand the relevance of issues to want to act	2	2	3	4	3
3	Issues are more relevant if they concern my family/hapu or i	3	-1	2	1	3
4	I think there are opportunities to get involved in things po	4	1	-2	-2	1
5	The larger the political forum is, the more difficult it is	5	-2	1	-3	0
6	It is difficult to act politically as an individual separate	6	-1	-1	0	0
7	You have to have certain attributes to move up in the politi	7	2	3	0	2
8	It feels like women have less of a say	8	-3	0	-4	-2
9	It is difficult to participate at pan tribal forums	9	0	2	0	0
10	The current leaders of certain political forums constrain th	10	0	4	0	-2
11	In general I do feel like I can have a say in things politic	11	1	0	-3	2
12	Collective voice is stronger than individual action	12	1	-2	2	4
13	Individually it feels like I can make a difference	13	0	-2	-2	-1
14	As a tribal member I usually have a voice on issues and feel	14	-1	-3	0	-1
15	I am more likely to take part in elections if the candidates	15	-3	-3	-1	0
16	Being Maori means you care alot about political issues	16	-3	-4	0	-2
17	My community does not have much political influence	17	-2	1	-1	-1
18	I feel that my political interests are represented by my com	18	-4	-3	3	0
19	Voting is an important expression of myself	19	3	0	-1	-3
20	IfI vote it means I care	20	4	0	2	-1
21	I can have an effect on what government does	21	0	0	-3	-2
22	I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important p	22	3	-1	-2	4
23	You have to be actively involved in political forums to real	23	0	1	1	1
24	I prefer acting in local politics	24	-2	-1	-2	-1
25	I vote for candidates who show an interest in my community e	25	-1	-1	2	2
26	It is important for my sense of self to have a political vie	26	4	1	1	2
27	I feel like I have more influence when the people within pol	27	0	0	2	1
28	I feel better about myself if I take part in political proce	28	1	2	1	-3
29	I think participating in the political realm makes me a bett	29	1	0	0	-3
30	Being involved in political activities makes me identify mor	30	-2	-2	3	1
31	I think it is better when decisions are left to elected offi	31	-4	-4	-4	-4
32	Decisions about important issues are the responsibility of a	32	3	4	4	3
33	I get a sense of satisfaction from contributing to political	33	2	-1	1	0
34	I think voting in general elections is the most important fo	34	2	3	2	-4
35	You have to work your way up through the political ranks slo	35	0	2	-1	1

Variance = 4.571 St. Dev. = 2.138

Crib sheet factor one:

Items ranked at +4

- 20. If I vote it means I care. **(+4)**
- 26. It is important to my sense of self to have a political view. **(+4)**

Items ranked higher in this factor than other Factors

- 4. I think there are opportunities to get involved in things political at a local level. **(+1)**
- 13. Individually it feels like I can make a difference. **(0)**
- 19. Voting is an important expression of myself. **(+3)** (significantly higher)
- 21. I can have an effect on what the government does.
- 29. I think participating in the political realm makes me a better person. **(+1)**
- 33. I get a sense of satisfaction from contributing to political processes. **(+2)**

Items ranked lower in this factor than other factors

- 1. The way that issues are framed makes politics appeal more to older people. **(-1)**
- 2. I have to understand the relevance of issues to want to act politically. **(+2)**
- 3. Issues are more relevant if they concern my family/hapū or community/iwi. **(-1)**
- 6. It is difficult act politically as an individual separate from traditional structures such as community/iwi or family/hapū. **(-1)**
- 15. I am more likely to take part in elections if the candidates are more like me. **(-3)**
- 17. My community does not have much political influence. **(-2)**
- 23. You have to be actively involved in political forums to really have any effect on politics. **(0)**
- 24. I prefer acting in local politics. **(-2)**
- 25. I vote for candidates who show an interest in my community even if they are not like me. **(-1)**
- 27. I feel like I have more influence when the people within political forums understand me. **(0)**
- 30. Being involved in political activities makes me identify more with my community. **(-2)**

Items ranked at -4

- 18. I feel that my political interests are represented by my community/iwi or family/hapū. **(-4)**
- 31. I think it is better when decisions are left to elected officials. **(-4)**

Crib Sheet Factor Two

Items ranked at +4

- 10. The current leaders in certain political forums (eg Iwi) constrain the voice of others. **(+4)**
- 32. Decisions about important issues are the responsibility of all citizens not just the people elected into power. **(+4)**

Items ranked higher in this factor than other Factors

- 5. The larger the political forum is, the more difficult it is to be involved. **(+1)**
- 7. You have to have certain attributes to move up in the political world – for example leadership qualities, networks and contacts, an understanding of tradition. **(+3)**
- 8. It feels like women have less of a say. **(0)**
- 9. It is difficult to participate at pan-tribal forums, as they are more interested in the opinions of experts and kaumātua **(+2)**
- 17. My community does not have much political influence. **(+1)**
- 21. I can have an effect on what the government does. **(0)**
- 23. You have to be actively involved in political forums to really have any effect on politics. **(+1)**
- (shared with 3 other factors)**
- 24. I prefer acting in local politics **(-1)** **(shared with 1 other factor)**
- 28. I feel better about myself if I take part in political processes. **(+2)**
- 34. I think voting in general elections is the most important form of political participation. **(+3)**
- 35. You have to work your way up through the political ranks slowly as you get older – younger people are not so easily accepted in certain political forums. **(+2)**

Items ranked lower in this factor than other factors

- 4. I think there are opportunities to get involved in things political at a local level. **(-2)**
- 6. It is difficult act politically as an individual separate from traditional structures such as community/iwi or family/hapū. **(-1)** **(shared with one other factor)**
- 12. Collective voice is stronger than individual action. **(-2)**
- 13. Individually it feels like I can make a difference. **(-2)**
- 14. As a tribal member I usually have a voice on issues and this makes me feel like I am making a difference. **(-3)**
- 15. I am more likely to take part in elections if the candidates are more like me. **(-3)**
- 25. I vote for candidates who show an interest in my community even if they are not like me. **(-1)**
- (shared with one other factor)**
- 26. It is important to my sense of self to have a political view. **(+1)**
- 27. I feel like I have more influence when the people within political forums understand me. **(0)**
- 30. Being involved in political activities makes me identify more with my community. **(-2)**
- 33. I get a sense of satisfaction from contributing to political processes. **(-1)**

Items ranked at -4

- 16. Being Māori means that you care a lot about political issues. **(-4)**
- 31. I think it is better when decisions are left to elected officials. **(-4)** **(shared with all other factors)**

Crib Sheet Factor Three

Items ranked at +4

- 2. I have to understand the relevance of issues to want to act politically. **(+4)**
- 32. Decisions about important issues are the responsibility of all citizens not just the people elected into power. **(+4)**

Items ranked higher in this factor than other Factors

- 6. It is difficult act politically as an individual separate from traditional structures such as community/iwi or family/hapū. **(0) (shared with one other factor)**
- 14. As a tribal member I usually have a voice on issues and this makes me feel like I am making a difference. **(0)**
- 16. Being Māori means that you care a lot about political issues. **(0)**
- 18. I feel that my political interests are represented by my community/iwi or family/hapū. **(+3) (significant)**
- 23. You have to be actively involved in political forums to really have any effect on politics. **(+1) (not that significant – shared with 3 other factors)**
- 25. I vote for candidates who show an interest in my community even if they are not like me. **(+2) (shared with one other factor)**
- 27. I feel like I have more influence when the people within political forums understand me. **(+2)**
- 30. Being involved in political activities makes me identify more with my community. **(+3)**

Items ranked lower in this factor than other factors

- 1. The way that issues are framed makes politics appeal more to older people. **(-1)**
- 4. I think there are opportunities to get involved in things political at a local level. **(-2) (shared with one other factor)**
- 5. The larger the political forum is, the more difficult it is to be involved. **(-3)**
- 7. You have to have certain attributes to move up in the political world – for example leadership qualities, networks and contacts, an understanding of tradition. **(0)**
- 11. In general I do feel like I can have a say in things political if I want. **(-3)**
- 13. Individually it feels like I can make a difference. **(-2)**
- 21. I can have an effect on what the government does. **(-3)**
- 22. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing New Zealand. **(-2)**
- 24. I prefer acting in local politics **(-2)**
- 26. It is important to my sense of self to have a political view. **(+1)**
- 35. You have to work your way up through the political ranks slowly as you get older – younger people are not so easily accepted in certain political forums. **(-1)**

Items ranked at -4

- 8. It feels like women have less of a say. **(-4)**
- 31. I think it is better when decisions are left to elected officials. **(-4)**

Crib Sheet Factor Four

Items ranked at +4

- 12. Collective voice is stronger than individual action. **(+4)**
- 22. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing New Zealand. **(+4)**

Items ranked higher in this factor than other Factors

- 3. Issues are more relevant if they concern my family/hapū or community/iwi **(+3)**
- 4. I think there are opportunities to get involved in things political at a local level. **(+1) Shared with one other factor)**
- 6. It is difficult act politically as an individual separate from traditional structures such as community/iwi or family/hapū. **(0) (shared with one other factor)**
- 11. In general I do feel like I can have a say in things political if I want. **(+2)**
- 15. I am more likely to take part in elections if the candidates are more like me. **(0)**
- 23. You have to be actively involved in political forums to really have any effect on politics. **(+1) Shared with two other factors**
- 24. I prefer acting in local politics **(-1) shared with one other factor**
- 25. I vote for candidates who show an interest in my community even if they are not like me. **(+2) shared with one other factor**

Items ranked lower in this factor than other factors

- 10. The current leaders in certain political forums (eg Iwi) constrain the voice of others. **(-2) significant**
- 19. Voting is an important expression of myself. **(-3) significant**
- 20. If I vote it means I care. **(-1)**
- 28. I feel better about myself if I take part in political processes. **(-3) significant**
- 29. I think participating in the political realm makes me a better person. **(-3) significant**

Items ranked at -4

- 31. I think it is better when decisions are left to elected officials. **(-4)**
- 34. I think voting in general elections is the most important form of political participation. **(-4)**

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